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## WOMEN AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE

Proceedings and papers from a workshop held at the  
University of British Columbia in January 1981  
to evaluate strategic research needs in  
Women and the Canadian Labour Force

Naomi Hersom

and

Dorothy E. Smith



Social Sciences and Humanities  
Research Council of Canada

Conseil de recherches en  
sciences humaines du Canada







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## Foreword

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council is pleased to present these working papers as a report of its Strategic Grants workshop on Women and the Canadian Labour Force, held in January 1981 at the University of British Columbia.

Views expressed in these papers are those of the authors, and distribution by the Council does not imply endorsement. The report will, however, be considered, along with other documentation, in ongoing discussions of this subject for our Strategic Grants program.

André Fortier  
President

February 1982





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I

WOMEN AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE:  
BRIEF REPORT AND SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP PAPERS AND DISCUSSION

Naomi Hersom  
and  
Dorothy E. Smith





## I. BRIEF REPORT AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 1. General Considerations

i. Women's participation in the labour force has increased rapidly in the last few years. Increased rates of participation among married women are particularly marked. These trends are likely to continue. But women show higher rates of unemployment than men; the wage gap between women and men has not diminished; the concentration of women in low-paid, dead-end jobs is still general. Understanding of the dynamics of the present situation is poor. Hence our ability to predict trends and to estimate the impact of changes, such as the introduction of micro-electronic technology, is minimal.

ii. Research on women in the Canadian economy suffers from the same problems as other research on women, namely that until the last ten or fifteen years there was hardly any. Unlike other fields, this remains relatively undeveloped. It is not fully legitimated as an appropriate focus for academic research. Hence the ordinary base of research articles and discussion available in other areas does not exist in this. Establishing "Women and the Canadian Economy" as a strategic grant theme would help to build the kind of research basis which is needed.

iii. The original theme of the workshop was "Women and the Canadian Labour Force". The workshop recommended renaming the theme to align it with the topic as it developed from the papers and our discussion. We found that conceptualization based on a relation to the labour force which is normal for men built in presuppositions which do not hold for women. We found, for example, that the situation of women in the labour force could not be isolated from their situation in the family. The principles on which their labour was allocated to one or the other appeared as fundamental to an understanding of both. Hence the institutional processes underlying women's situation in the labour force were included in the conceptualization of the theme and sub-themes. This theme is more appropriately entitled "Women and the Canadian Economy".

### 2. Definition of the Theme

The theme "Women and the Canadian Economy" was given definition as a set of sub-themes and their relations. Workshop analyses indicated that apparently stable and 'traditional' features of women's relation to labour force and family should be viewed as an historically specific stabilization of essential dynamic relations. We saw that it was important to understand how the family or other domestic unit functions as an economic organization and how women and men's labour has been allocated. We saw an understanding of the way in which the educational process enters into the formation of a labour force as essential to identifying the institutions through which that allocation takes place. Though there are theoretical disagreements about such concepts as a dual labour force, it is nonetheless true that women occupy a different position in the labour force than men and that its character, its significance for the overall structure of the labour force, and its anchorage in institutional processes of education and trade union organization need



analysis and research. An understanding of how the economic contexts of these relations bears upon them needs work, especially when we come to consider probable sources and outcomes of economic and technological change. Finally government at various levels seeks to influence these processes at various uncoordinated points and we should know more about the character and consequences of such intervention.

The overall theme can be defined as a set of sub-themes. In defining these, our intention is to facilitate the coordination of independently conceived research enterprises into the building of a fuller picture of the area and problems coming within the scope of the overall theme.

Research focussed on women is needed in the following areas.

- A. The consequences of economic, technological and industrial change for (a) the structure of the labour force; (b) the economic bases and conditions of the domestic unit; (c) trade union organization.
- B. The structure of the labour force exploring (a) dual labour market theory and analyses and their relevance to the study of women's place in the labour force; (b) the implications of labour force structure for variations in the economic and social organization of the domestic unit; (c) the articulation of labour force to the educational and training process; (d) the interrelations of labour force structure and trade unions; (e) women's relation to trade union organization.
- C. The economic organization of the domestic unit and its significance (a) in the economy; (b) for work role socialization and (c) as determinant of labour force participation.
- D. How the educational system functions to mediate the relation of women to the labour force with respect (a) to internal processes of 'streaming' differentiating the educational experience of young women and young men; and (b) with respect to internal and external decision and policy making processes.
- E. The character, effectiveness and implications of government intervention in and regulation of, processes identified in sub-topics A through D--for example the implication of social insurance and income maintenance programs for economic decision-making in the family; or the consequences of human rights legislation for labour market structure and process. (It should be born in mind that the term 'government' includes federal, provincial and municipal levels of government.)

(Theme and sub-theme are further specified in Part II of this report.)

Policy-oriented research was given a major emphasis in workshop discussion. Research relevant to manpower planning, to breaking down traditional barriers to women's access to a wider range of job possibilities, to responses to changing relations of women's work in the family and outside, to implementing

the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, to improving the conditions of women's paid employment, etc. was recommended. A detailed review of workshop discussion on policy-oriented research is to be found in Part II, section 4 below.

### Supplementary Principles

Four further principles specifying the application of the theme and sub-themes are recommended.

- i. The summary of sub-themes over-represents the macro-social or economic dimensions. Studies are needed of other levels of the sub-themes to disclose their different aspects, including the interpersonal and psychological processes underlying processes at the macro-level.
- ii. The process on which the theme is focussed is historically dynamic. Hence both historical and projective research should be included.
- iii. The distinction between policy-oriented and academic research is not the old and contentious distinction between basic and applied research. The distinction here is simply between research which has a definite policy orientation and research which is primarily oriented towards the development of knowledge--of whatever kind--in the academic discourse.
- iv. The overall themes as defined by its sub-themes, is essentially interdisciplinary. Labelling the project "Women and the Canadian Economy" should not be taken to identify it with economics as a discipline. The Workshop included economists, sociologists, historians, psychologists, anthropologists and academics working in the fields of business administration and education.

### 3. Recommendations

- i. *We recommend that should a strategic grant program be set up on the basis of the workshop and this report, the theme be defined as "Women and the Canadian Economy" rather than "Women and the Canadian Labour Force".*
- ii. *We further recommend that such a strategic grant program should provide for both 'academic' and policy-oriented research.*

In view of the relative absence of cumulated research resources, funds should be directed towards stimulating expansion of the knowledge bases of research. The general problem is to get the field of study over the hump after which it takes its place as a legitimate research topic among others. In addition to funding research projects in the normal way, we recommend measures which will:



- a. directly build the research bases for studies in this area;
- b. enhance communication among researchers, the circulation of research materials, and feedback among researchers and users of research;
- c. promote more adequate articulation of policy-oriented research to policy-makers.

a. Building research bases for studies in the field.

This means promoting research, research facilities, the storage and availability of materials and the development of qualified and experienced researchers.

- iii. *We recommend the establishment of a bilingual Institute for Studies on Women and the Economy.*
- iv. *We recommend the establishment of an archival collection of materials in the field.*

It is likely that some wishing to undertake research projects and appropriately qualified, may not hold academic or similar positions.

- v. *We recommend that funding for research projects be available for researchers not employed in universities or research institutes and that universities and institutes be encouraged to provide a 'home' for such scholars during the funding period. Such funds should include a salary for the researcher and a cost component comparable to the inclusion of administrative costs where the researcher is independent of an institution.*
- vi. *We recommend that seed money be made available for the preparation of proposals involving collaboration among more than one researcher or the involvement of representatives of women's organizations. Such funding to provide for travel, meetings, secretarial assistance, and the circulation of materials among those working together.*

b. Enhancing communication, circulation and feedback.

Because of the marginal relation of much research and information on women to the academic discourse, information accumulates at the local level (in reports, etc.) and does not circulate.

- vii. *We recommend establishing a medium for exchanging and coordinating existing research and information. The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women would be an appropriate body to undertake this.*

Workshops similar to that in which this report originated are very effective informal means of coordinating research and advancing its sophistication.

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- viii. *We recommend funding occasional focussed workshops (possibly on a regional basis) bringing together those working in a similar area. Such workshops should preferably be interdisciplinary (or at least not unidisciplinary).*
- ix. *We recommend that project funding provide as appropriate for a dissemination phase, including in addition to academic publication or the like, the translation and preparation of materials in appropriate form and language for dissemination to the public, and funding for materials, processing, etc. making the research findings available to media, women's organizations, etc.*

There are two regional women's research organizations, one in Montreal and one in Vancouver. Both seek to link the skills of researchers with organizations representing women's interests.

- x. *We recommend that these be considered appropriate sites for funding and for the administration of research funds,*  
*and*
- xi. *that funding for seed money to develop research centres with similar functions in other regions be available--that funding to include opportunities for consultation with the established women's research centres.*

c. The articulation of policy-oriented research to policy-makers.

Policy-oriented research should not be identified solely with government. Women's organizations, trade unions and management are also policy-makers in this area and are in need of research.

- xii. *We recommend that the concept of policy-oriented research include the policy concerns of others than government.*

The gap between the situation of academics and those working practically in the field often means that the latter cannot use knowledge developed by the former.

- xiii. *We recommend that where policy-oriented research proposals are directly relevant to specific agencies or organizations, they be developed in consultation with those who will use the product and that a feedback process be built into proposals to continue to the conclusion of the project.*
- xiv. *We recommend the setting up of a program of policy-research internships; enabling those entering the field as qualified professionals (i.e., with an advanced degree) to work for six months or a year as researchers in relation to government agency, trade union, business, or women's organization, to gain practical experience of the research concerns and relevances of policy-makers. A certain percentage of these internships should be reserved for francophones in and outside of Quebec.*
- xv. *We recommend that policy-oriented research not be restricted to specific practical issues, but that funding be made available for research and thinking concerned with general policy issues and principles, and for inquiry into the policy-making process in this field.*

#### 4. List of Papers

- .Women in the Canadian Labour Force: The Present Reality - Carol Swan.
- .Towards Some New Emphases in Empirical Research on Women and the Canadian Labour Force - Michael Skolnik.
- .The Choice of Technology and Women in the Paid Work Force - George Warskett.
- .Implications for Understanding Women in the Labour Force of Labour Market Segmentation Analysis - Martha MacDonald.
- .Job Creation and Unemployment for Canadian Women - Pat and Hugh Armstrong.
- .Education and Job Opportunities for Women: Patterns of Enrollment and Economic Returns - Jane Gaskell.
- .Problems and Issues in the Unionization of Female Workers: Some Reflections on the Case of Canadian Bank Employees - Graham S. Lowe.
- .The Domestic Economy: Now You See it, Now You Don't - Martin Meissner.
- .Women, Class and Family - Dorothy E. Smith.
- .Working Women and the State: The Case of Canada, 1889-1945 - Veronica Strong-Boag.
- .Genesea: A Non Sexist Society? - Ruth Rose-Lizée.
- .Le Pouvoir de la Connaissance ou "Si L'on Pouvait se Comprendre" - Johanne Deschamps.



## II. SUMMARY OF WORKSHOP PAPERS AND DISCUSSION

### 1. The Definition of the Theme

The papers presented and the course of discussion in the workshop made it clear that the original theme was too narrowly conceived. As we worked through from the more visible and surface aspects describing the overall situation and trends of women in the labour force to the underlying processes it became clear that the effective topic of the workshop, the effective theme, was "Women in the Canadian Economy". We found that in deepening the topic in this way we were in fact addressing an aspect of the economic and social process of Canadian society which has not been addressed as such. Although there is piecemeal information, there is no developed conceptualization, no systematic study, of its relations and processes.

The available statistical information on women and the Canadian economy shows major and continuing changes in women's relation to the labour force since the beginning of this century. These have accelerated recently. Swan describes the trends and problems as follows:

The accelerating involvement of women in the paid labour force, particularly over the last two decades, is one of the most dramatic developments in Canadian economic history. However, the increasing participation of women in the labour market has not been matched by significant improvements in their position within the labour market. Women continue to be segregated into relatively few jobs, often with poor promotion opportunities and low wages. The types of jobs which they occupy have changed somewhat over the decades as the industrial and economic environment has shifted but the fact of occupational and industrial concentration has remained. Women are hardest hit by the vagaries of the market place and the economy. For the last two decades, women have consistently experienced higher unemployment rates than men. While female participation rates have nearly doubled, unemployment rates have tripled. The wage gap between incomes of women and men has shown no sign of shrinking.

\* All references are to papers commissioned for the workshop.

The gap between the male and female labour force participation continues to narrow. By the end of the century women may comprise at least half the labour force. Yet, as described above, their relation to the labour force presents special inequities for women. It also has major implications for issues of general concern such as income security, economic growth, unemployment, inflation, union organization, social consumption patterns, degradations of work and so forth.

Women's part in the economic process of Canadian society cannot be adequately studied when it is assumed that the same concepts and models developed for the study and analysis of the male labour force should be used. The bases of women's relation to the labour force and to the family domestic unit differ from that of men. Hence the tidy differentiation of unemployment and labour force participation proves hard to draw for women (Skolnik). Hence too the inadequacy of treating wage and employment differences between men and women as reflecting either individual choice or resulting from discriminatory behaviour on the part of the employer (MacDonald). The organization and dynamics of the relation between women's labour in the home and in paid employment are fundamental to an understanding of women's relation to the economy.

Advances in understanding of this aspect of the Canadian economy require a shift of level to expose the social, economic, and political processes underlying the organization of the female labour force. Little currently is known about the underlying determinants of the substantial increase in female labour force participation, its relation to patterns of economic development, the reasons for the persistence of pay differentials between women and men, the characteristic occupational distribution of women, characteristic unemployment patterns and access

to careers and advancement. Both stable and changing features have their history. A grasp of it is essential to understanding its trajectory into the future. At the same time current developments in the economy arising from sources exogenous to the relations organizing and reorganizing women's relation to the labour force, feed into established relations and have their specific effects in that context.

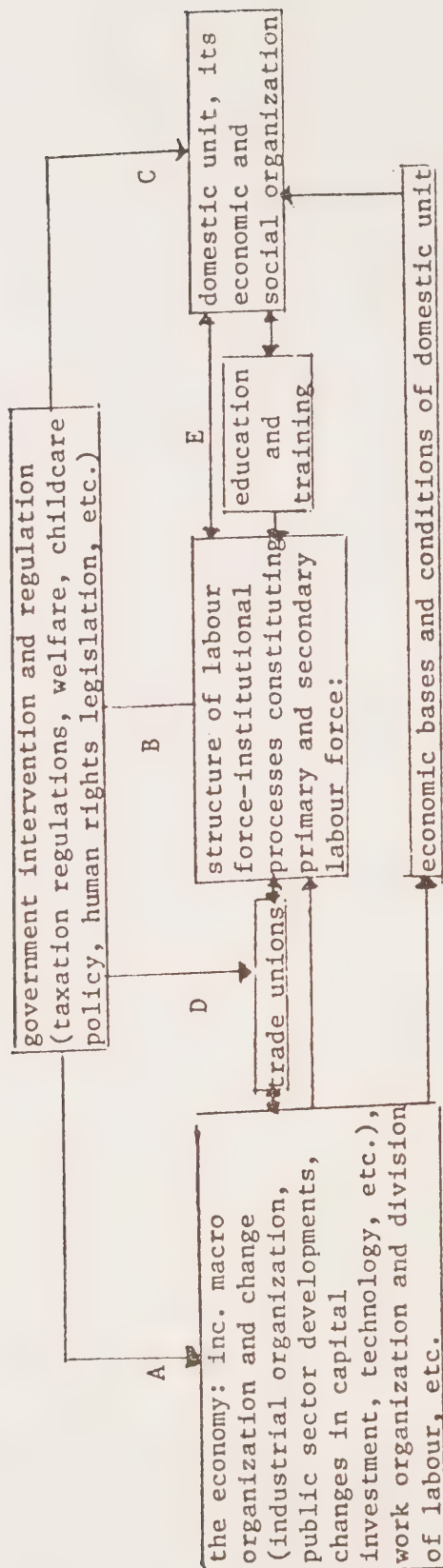
## 2. Women in the Canadian economy: relations and process

The collection of papers and the workshop discussion brought into view in a preliminary way key substantive areas, relations, and processes underlying the labour force trends. The accompanying diagram is a sketch map of these. It is intended to summarize the major foci and relations emerging from discussion.

Analyses developed in the papers and in discussion indicated that apparently stable and 'traditional' features of women's relation to family and labour force must be viewed as an historically specific stabilization of intrinsically dynamic relations. The family as we have known it is a relatively recent form (Smith). The diagram locates (at the left hand side, marked A) sources of change exogenous to the specific organization of the labour force-family nexus for women. Relations between the family domestic unit (at C) and larger socio-economic processes (A) are mediated by the structure of a segmented labour force (at B). Though our knowledge of the character of these relations is still extremely sketchy, we are clear that such phenomena as the increase in women's labour force participation and correlative changes over the last few decades (Swan, quoted above) are a product of factors impinging on the labour force-family nexus in different ways and at different points. Research is needed into the historical processes which stabilized an economic form of the family



F



domestic unit in which the man's monetary income was sufficient to make the woman's labour fully available to the domestic unit (the 'family wage' form of domestic economy).. We need studies also of processes currently at work in generating other forms of family domestic units--such as the multi-earner and single parent family, as well as the increase in non-family domestic units.

From the same general source come changes in the material and economic bases of the family domestic unit (C in the diagram). We need to know more about the contribution of domestic labour to the political economy and about the increasing proportion of domestic work to all work (Meissner). Advances in domestic technology have transformed housework and the internal economy of the domestic unit (though without necessarily shortening time spent on housework). There are competing sources of prepared food, personal services, care for the sick, the handicapped, the aged. Functions previously performed in the home and generally by women are increasingly available outside where women now perform them for a wage. Such changes in the basis of the domestic economy reduce the substitutability of women's labour for monetary income and may well be another component of women's increased labour force participation.

We were made aware (Strong-Boag) of the significance of government policies on social security, unemployment, taxation and welfare, the regulation of minimum wages and working conditions in helping to organize the labour force-family nexus for women. (The interposition of government at various points in the overall process is entered in the diagram at F). Contemporary government policies also need study and analysis in relation to how they interpose in these processes. Indirect policy effects also need study--for example, the implications of immigration policies and the grounds for preferring to import skilled labour rather than training women

for non traditional jobs.

It was suggested further that more systematic study is needed of the ideas and principles mediating between the economic and social processes with which the workshop was concerned and the ways in which policy is formed at the level of government (or indeed of trade unions), for example, the questions of whether the principle of the individual rather than the family should be taken as the basic economic unit in the formation of taxation, social security and unemployment policies. There are issues of equity which cannot be satisfactorily settled in the abstract but we know little about how such issues are resolved, whether they are addressed systematically and explicitly or how they are articulated to the actualities of the socio-economic process.

The increased demand for women's labour in recent years has in part resulted from the greatly increased scale of business and government and the concomitant developments of systems of distribution and of managerial processes requiring the continuous processing of information. From 1975 to 1979 the most important sectors in job creation were those in which women were already highly concentrated. Sixty per cent of the jobs created for women were in sales, service and clerical occupations (Armstrong and Armstrong). The recent development of micro-electronic technologies in this area promises to reverse some of these trends. A major displacement of clerical workers is anticipated (Warskett) among other effects--rendering obsolete aspects of the educational process geared to the training of large numbers of young women in clerical skills. These developments coincide with cutbacks in public spending and with other shifts in the Canadian economy (such as the transformation of the Canadian textile industry to a more capital intensive form) and appear likely to increase rates of unemployment among women (already higher than among men) (Warskett). Of special importance in this general area are the variations in economic



characteristics and development of different regions in Canada.

The structure of the labour market was given a central place in our discussion. Analysis of labour market segmentation is an alternative to the study of differentials in women's and men's experience in the labour force which treats them as resulting from individual choice in labour supply behaviour or as resulting from or as the product of discrimination. Though labour market segmentation analysis is in its early stages and needs considerable development it offers a structural approach to divisions in the workforce seen as arising out of the general relations between capital and labour and the process of capital development. Labour market structure has been given a mediating position (at B) in our diagram of process and relations because it is to be seen as arising in relation to the organization of the economy and the industrial process on the one hand and mediating its effects to the organization of the family domestic unit on the other.

Segmentation theory shows that family wages only became a reality in the Primary Labour Market. These efforts of male workers to gain a decent family subsistence wage for themselves are linked with the development in the capital accumulation process of the monopoly sector/competitive split..... The result was monetary gains for some workers, but not all; family wages for some men, but not for all. Wives and daughters were often left with fewer job options, worse job options, and the ever present option of intensifying domestic labour as a way to keep a family alive on a non-family wage. (MacDonald)

The simplest form of segmentation analysis divides the labour market into a primary labour market characterized by relatively high wages, relatively good opportunities for advancement, good fringe benefits, stability and job security, and a secondary labour market comprising dead-end jobs, relatively low wages, poor working conditions, little job stability and a higher proportion of part-time work. (MacDonald, Armstrong & Armstrong).

Hence changes in demand for women's labour and in other effects of the overall economic process on women's labour force participation (such as inflation, higher rates of unemployment among men) changes in the domestic economy feed women into a secondary labour force. Changes in the skill structure of jobs resulting from technological change may be in the direction of reorganizing jobs as part of the secondary labour force. It is hardly surprising then that rising rates of unemployment among women accompany the rise in the rates of women's labour force participation (Warskett, Swan). In 1979 women constituted only 38.2% of the employed, but 46.1% of the unemployed. (Armstrong). Not only are more women unemployed but more of the employed fail to find full-time work. In 1979 almost one in four women who worked was employed part-time. There has been a sharp rise in the share of jobs that are part-time. Women are filling the majority of these new part-time jobs.

This is however, at least as much a result of the nature of the jobs available to women as it is a result of women's work patterns and preferences. The jobs, not the workers, are secondary. (Armstrong and Armstrong).

The study of labour force segmentation is still in its infancy and the internal organization of the secondary labour force is a major topic of discussion. It is here that we would locate issues arising for special populations such as immigrant women and native women.

This area in general needs theoretical development as well as empirical research. It has considerable significance as a framework for the study of regional variations in the organization of the labour market for women. The policy implications of research in this area are also of foremost importance.

Trade unions are actively implicated in the formation of the segmented labour force (MacDonald). The primary labour force with its higher pay, better working conditions, etc. is also more highly unionized than the secondary

labour force. Presumably this is related both to the nature of the industrial and other work organization on which the primary labour force is based and to the success of unions in achieving improved pay and conditions for their members (see D in above diagram). Correlatively the proportion of women unionized lags behind men (Swan, Armstrong and Armstrong), but has been increasing very rapidly in the last decade or two (Swan). The relation of women and trade unions needs examining with respect to (1) how their characteristic work settings (for example, often in small and dispersed units) do or do not create the conditions of unionization (Lowe); (2) other social or economic conditions of unionization (Lowe); (3) the implications of unionization on women's position in a segmented labour force; (4) the philosophies of union organizing that have influenced trade union policies in relation to women; (5) the barriers to representation of women and women's issues within the union apparatus; (6) the significance of the increasing use of part-time work for women workers; (7) historically how trade unions contributed to the formation of the 'family wage' domestic economy. (8) the history of women's part in labour struggles in Canada.

The educational process was given an important place in our discussion with respect to how it organizes women's relation to the labour force and is consequential for the structure of the segmented labour force (Gaskell) (see E in the above diagram). This relation between education and the labour force is of special significance in a period of change when established educational programs may be producing obsolescent skills. The educational system produces a differentiation of skills between girls and boys by processes of streaming which are integral to the organization of the school system involving differential budgetary allocations to the training of girls and boys, differential treatment in relation to the acquisition of skills in mathematics and science



as well as in the development of physical capacities through sports, etc. Educational programs and practices in place now have consequences for the character of the labour force over the next few decades and are hard and costly to remedy by retraining programs. We saw a need for research into how school programs are determined, their relation to local and national labour markets and their responsiveness to changing labour force needs. We need better understanding of how school boards are situated in the community and the kinds of interests they represent, and of the ways in which different interest groups are effective in educational policy making at different levels of government.

The effects of changing economic and social conditions on the school-family relation was also a concern. The 'family wage' organization of the domestic economy made women's labour available as mothers in ways which complemented the work of the school. The organization of educational work in the school setting has come to depend upon the complementary work of women as mothers. As more women, whether as members of multi-earner families or as single parents, are in the labour force, their labour is less available to supplement the schooling process. Economic changes have disorganized an established relation. We saw a need to rethink the relation between school and family. Research is needed into these effects and into ways in which schools can be reorganized to provide for some of the functions which the changing organization of the domestic economy can no longer perform.

### 3. Different levels of inquiry

The exigencies of brevity in our account have meant a treatment largely at the macro-socio-economic level. The importance of research and inquiry at other levels thus needs special emphasis. Adequate understanding of women's position in the Canadian economy requires studies disclosing processes at the

micro-social and at the individual level. For example, the occupational segregation of women restricts women to a fairly narrow range of jobs. This can be studied as an aspect of a segmented labour force at the macro level. It needs, however, also to be studied in terms of types of division of labour and work organization at the level of the individual plant and of the relations between women and men workers as women move into non-traditional occupations. At the individual level the psychological aspects of occupational segregation need investigation. What, for example, are the psychological implications for women whose training and aptitudes prepare them for types of work other than that they find they must accept? What is the effect on self-concept and what are the consequences for future decisions about labour force participation? Are there differences in managerial style between women and men and what are their implications? Or in relation to education, how is the streaming of girls out of natural scientific, mathematical and technical types of training, built into the actual organization of the school, including its staffing and budgetary practices? And at the psychological level, what are the social psychological concomitants of streaming and their consequences for the ways in which young women's career choices are made? How do girls and young women respond to the conflicting messages they are receiving currently about what they ought to be and do when they grow up? In relation to the increasing proportions of multi-earner and single parent families, what are the psychological costs of the conflicts between the claims of work and home--the problem of dual roles? What are the personality and individual differences involved in choice of roles or in handling the stress of role conflict? If research in the area of Women and the Canadian Labour Force is to provide adequate policy guidance, then research enabling processes to be tapped at different levels must be encouraged.

#### 4. Policy-oriented research

In planning the conference workshop we had identified four major interests in practice and policy in relation to "Women and the Canadian labour force." Each met as a group including practitioners in the field as well as others concerned with that area. Each working group made recommendations specific to research relevances in each context.

In making the distinction between research oriented towards the general topic of women and the labour force and research relevant to policies and practices we should emphasize that we do not take the development of a general understanding of the relations, dynamics and historical processes such as that outlined in section II:2 to be a purely academic enterprise. The working group responsible for discussing government research concerns pointed out that government is usually interested only in research oriented to short-term issues responding to its mandate to develop and implement policies and programs. This creates a serious lacuna. In the absence of a longer-term research orientation concerned to explicate underlying processes and relations among different policy areas (for example child and employment), policies lack a broader context of knowledge, are based on unexamined assumptions and their probable outcomes cannot be properly estimated. Such comments on problems in government research policies pointed to the policy relevance of research directed towards the development of a generalized knowledge of women's place in the Canadian economy as well as of research oriented toward specific issues.

A number of special policy issues as foci for research were raised at points throughout our discussion, in the working groups and through the Delphi study. These are summarized below.



i. Research directly relevant to manpower planning is needed (in part this is provided for above). These specific foci for research were identified: (a) given the trends to increasing labour force participation of women, research into measures aimed at lowering rates of unemployment (for example, into the effects and effectiveness of job creation programs) etc. is needed. Full employment as a national policy was put forward as a longer term and essential precondition to eliminating women's economic dependence on men (Rose-Lizée). The formulation of full employment policies to include women requires a substantial basis in research. (b) The implications of recession for women's employment also needs study. (c) Alternative employment structures, such as flex-time, job sharing, part-time work with benefits, etc. should be investigated.

ii. Breaking down traditional barriers to women's access to the widest range of job possibilities through greater access to non-traditional jobs, and managerial and professional positions: (a) Research is needed into the barriers holding women back. Manpower training agreements are coming up for renewal and should be reviewed in the light of research on the best ways of promoting women's greater participation in skilled manual work. Research is also needed into the ways in which government, unions and business negotiate training agreements. This area is seen as of acute importance currently in relation to the shortage of skilled workers. The possibility of new programs enabling women to upgrade their training should be examined. (b) We need to be able to learn from experience in instituting affirmative action or equal opportunity programs--research is needed into differential effectiveness, into consequences for the organizational environment, etc. Discrimination in hiring practices is still prevalent, how can it be combatted? (c) Barriers to effective functioning in work situations such as sexual harassment need

investigation--how can these become appropriate issues for union action and how can they be taken up in relation to women at the managerial and professional level who are not protected by union organization? (d) What are the differentials in qualifications between women and men in managerial and professional context and how do these come about. How can the educational system be modified to open up new opportunities for women? What kinds of improvement in career counselling are needed and how can sexist language and attitudes be eliminated from schools and institutions of higher learning. Women should be better represented in leading university and community college positions, particularly in such fields as engineering and business administration--how can these goals be best advanced?

iii. Research is needed into the calibration of women's work in the family and in childrearing, and in the labour force. (a) Extensive research is needed in many aspects of the provision of childcare--what is the place of the federal government in childcare programs? We need comparative research into how childcare programs have been developed in other countries. We also need studies of how it may best be articulated to the educational process in general, into the varying socialization effects of different types of programs, into quality and the forms of organization and supervision most effective in maintaining quality. (b) Furthermore, account needs to be taken of women's special relation to the childrearing process. How may men be more involved in sharing responsibility for childcare? What are the implications of expanding maternity leave provisions? Should we be thinking in terms of parental responsibilities and parental leave? For women at the managerial level who have no negotiating body, what provisions if any are companies making for maternity leave? (c) Research is needed into the development of different educational career structures, giving women access to higher levels of

training as adults. Adult education in general is of special significance to women and research is needed in this area to evaluate the extent and kind of need and to project responses to current labour force trends.

iv. In relation to the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, two areas of study were identified: (a) in relation to the development of acceptable measures of the value of work and (b) in relation to the problems of administering and implementing legislation giving this principle the status of law.

v. Issues were raised about the assumptions of policy, particularly in relation to government. In connection with Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, and Taxation policies, the problem of whether the individual rather than the family should be taken as the basic economic unit was raised (Swan, Rose-Lizée). Different assumptions unfold different outcomes. There is the problem of how alternative principles accord with the goal of redistribution while also increasing economic equality between women and men. These need systematic study (Swan). Further, the possibility of extending the principle of the individual rather than the family as the basic economic unit might be studied in relation to children as possible recipients of Social Security payments (Rose-Lizée). Fiscal and family law, social security programs such as the Canada Pension Plan payment to dependent spouses, and proposals to permit housewives to contribute to the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans need to be examined with a view to promoting greater economic independence for women whether married or not (Rose-Lizée). Specific policy issues of this kind need, of course, to be raised in the context of a developed understanding of the general directions of change in women's participation in the Canadian labour force and the changing organization of the domestic unit as a product of underlying economic and social processes.



vi. Research is needed into the conditions of women's work: (a) in the area of occupational health and safety. The academic and scientific community should come together with trade unionists to explore and document the dangers of the working environment. Union locals have the data based on experience; scientists have the analytic capacity and credibility. There is need also for research into the uses by management of cost benefit analysis in the making of decisions on safety in the workplace; (b) The conditions of special vulnerability in women's employment need investigation. Examples of special areas needing research are domestic work, contract work such as building cleaners, private hiring agencies, the conditions and terms of piece-work and part-time work, sexual harassment; (c) Research is needed on alternative seniority schemes--occupational, departmental and by bargaining unit--and their implications for women's working lives. Should retraining clauses to allow sideways movement be an essential feature? These are badly neglected areas where little information is available and much is needed.

APPENDIX: BRIEF ACCOUNT OF WORKSHOP ORGANIZATION

1. Method

The aim was to open up and define an area for research. The planning, organization and carrying through the workshop was integral to this process. It involved decisions about who should participate, about how the 'agenda' of the workshop should be defined, about the focus of the commissioned papers, about the workshop procedure and its orientation to this document - the report to the SSHRC.

2. The participants

We were concerned to involve in discussion (a) key scholars currently engaged in active scholarship in the field; (b) people currently engaged in active policy making or in other practical activities in relation to women and the economy; (c) the widest feasible range of disciplines; (d) representatives from the different regions of Canada. We were also concerned to get feedback from the widest possible circle of those actively working in relation to women's issues.

Key scholars were identified through their published work and through consultation with people working in the field in different parts of Canada. We invited members of the federal government working in appropriate positions, representatives of the Advisory Council on the Status of Women, from some provincial governments, and from the women's movement (the president of the National Action Committee, the coordinator of the B.C. Women's Research Centre, etc.). Regional representation was carefully worked out so that every region in Canada except the northern territories was represented. (Unfortunately our change of date from October to January resulted in a last minute drop-out of two people from

Quebec. Disciplines represented were economics, sociology, history, education, business administration, psychology and anthropology.

Economics, sociology and history predominated. A Delphi procedure was used to get feedback from a wider circle of scholars and practitioners than could be directly involved. In addition we felt strongly that it would not be proper to deprive those working locally of an opportunity to participate in a rare and special opportunity for dialogue. Hence we extended our invitations more widely to scholars and practitioners working in the field in British Columbia.

### 3. The conceptual framework and the commissioned papers

There were two major problems to be solved. One was how to ensure that discussion would be sufficiently focussed to be fruitful without being constricted; the second was how to facilitate dialogue among disciplines involving widely differing conceptual and methodological practices. A rationale was developed putting forward a preliminary conceptual organization of the field. The rationale also described the proposed workshop for SSHRC. It was available to those commissioned to write papers and to other participants.

The rationale identified a number of topics and suggested how they might be seen in relation to one another. It laid down as a general procedure for the workshop that we begin from the statistically visible information about the women in the Canadian labour force and go on from there to explore the underlying institutional and economic processes. The conceptual framework put forward by the rationale outlined what these might be.



The papers solicited for the workshop were not to be surveys of sub-fields. Rather they were to represent the forefront of the thinking and research being done in this area in Canada. Those solicited were asked to develop a paper out of their current work and to locate it in the context of the framework provided by 'the rationale'. The latter then enabled the different papers to be seen in relation to one another.

The problem of the relation of the different disciplines was solved by conceptualizing an empirical area upon which the workshop would focus. This provided a common base in the actualities of economic and social processes on which the different disciplines could touch ground. These actualities were our focus. Our concern was to explore how they might be researched in ways which would mobilize the diverse specialized capacities of the different disciplines. In this we were largely successful.

The workshop itself was organized to bring the scholarly work into relation with policy issues. Again the common ground was the actualities of economic and social processes. These were the actualities for policy-makers and practitioners as well as for scholars.

The workshop itself was organized as a process which first laid out through the papers and general discussion of the papers, the forward edge of knowledge and thinking in the field. General discussion was followed by smaller working sessions of two kinds: first summarizing the major themes and research issues and then bringing into focus the issues for policy-makers and practitioners. A final plenary session then presented a summary of the work of the workshop as a whole.



II

WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE: THE PRESENT REALITY

Carole Swan





## WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE:

### THE PRESENT REALITY\*

#### INTRODUCTION

At the turn of the century, the 238,000 Canadian women in paid employment accounted for 13% of all workers with jobs.<sup>1</sup> These women represented about 12% of women 10 years of age and over. Eighty years later, women now form over 39% of the Canadian labour force and presently half of all women aged 15+ are either working or looking for jobs.

The accelerating involvement of women in the paid labour force, particularly over the last two decades, is one of the most dramatic developments in Canadian economic history. However, the increasing participation of women in the labour market has not been matched by significant improvements in their position within the labour market. Women continue to be segregated into relatively few jobs, often with poor promotion opportunities and low wages. The types of jobs which they occupy have changed somewhat over the decades as the industrial and economic environment has shifted but the fact of

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\* This paper is an adaptation of a portion of a background paper prepared for the Labour Market Development Task Force by the author in her capacity as Director of Economic Research and Analysis at Status of Women Canada. The views expressed herein are those of the author and should not be construed as representing those of either the Labour Market Development Task Force or of Status of Women Canada. The author wishes to thank Glen Hodgson for assistance in the preparation of statistical material presented in this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Canada Department of Manpower and Immigration, "Canada Manpower and Immigration Review-Special Issue on International Women's Year", Vol. 8, No. 1, First Quarter 1975, p. 1.

occupational and industrial concentration has remained. Women are hardest hit by the vagaries of the market place and the economy. For the last two decades, women have consistently experienced higher unemployment rates than men. While female participation rates have nearly doubled, unemployment rates have tripled. The wage gap between incomes of women and men has shown no signs of shrinking.

This paper provides an overview of the current situation of women in the labour force in Canada. It offers a perspective on the recent labour force experience of women through consideration of the composition of the female labour force, patterns of full and part-time employment by occupation and industry, the incidence and nature of female unemployment and incomes paid to female labour market participants. In addition to examining trends in labour force variables, the paper points to issues which require further research.

The picture which is presented is not an uplifting one. Despite the large and continuously growing contribution made to the economy by women workers, a pattern of a consistently inferior and disadvantaged labour market position emerges. This is not so much the polemical assertion of this paper but rather the inescapable conclusion of the following analysis of the situation of women in the Canadian labour market.



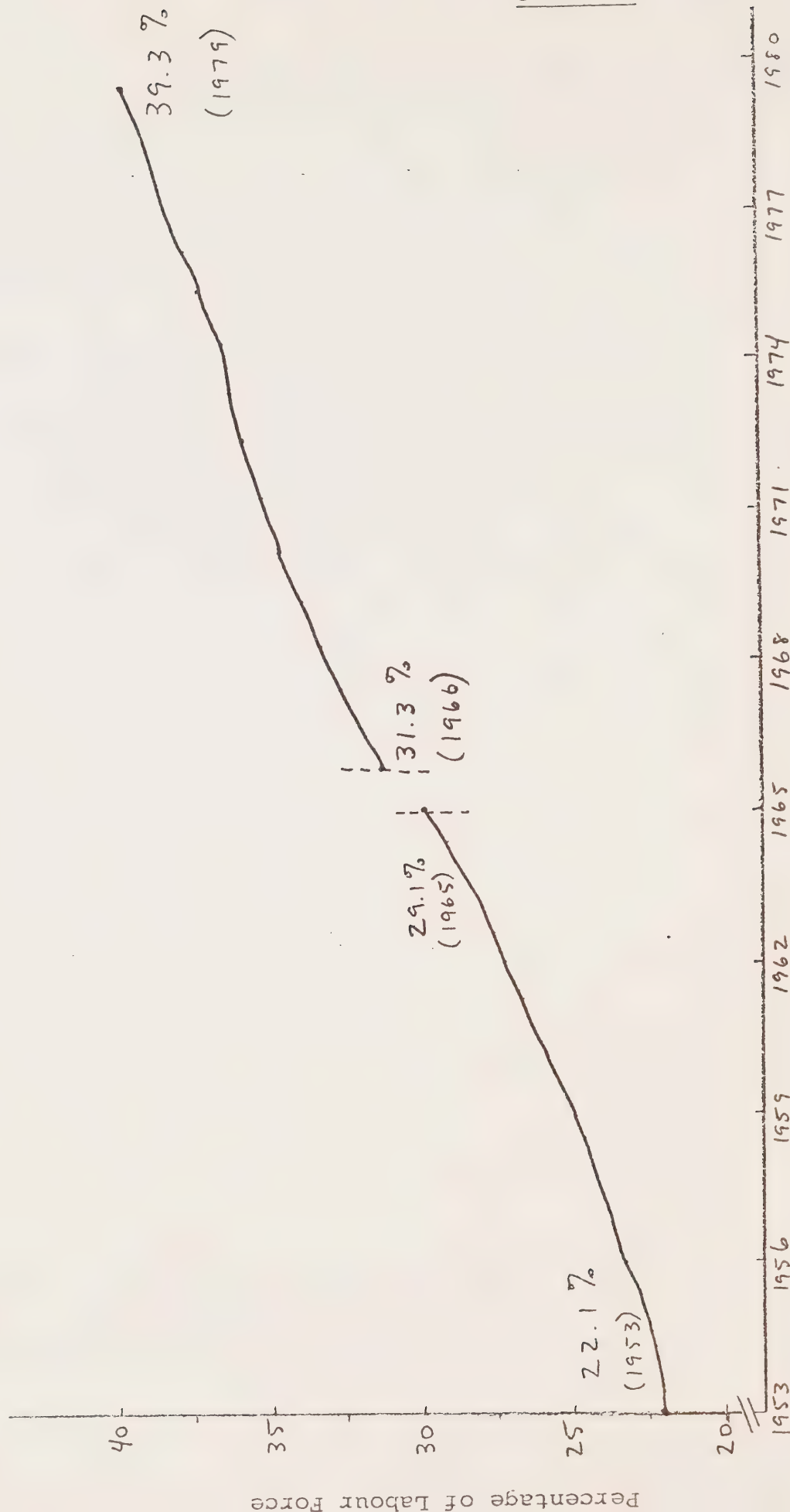
The movement of women into the Canadian labour force has shown a steady upward trend following a drop in female participation in the immediate post-World War II years.<sup>2</sup> As Chart 1 indicates, the female proportion of the labour force has nearly doubled since the early 1950s.

Underlying the growth in the female share of total labour force is the growth in female participation rates (see Chart 2). The female participation rate (defined as the proportion of the working age population who have jobs or are looking for work) has risen each year since 1953, reaching 48.9% in 1979. Average annual growth in the female participation rate over this period has been near 3%. The male participation rate has not exhibited this trend and, in fact, was lower last year (at 78.4%) than its 1966 level.

As Table 1 indicates, female participation rates have increased in each of the last five years in every province. The largest growth in female participation rates over the last five year period occurred in the province with the lowest female participation rate. After growing by 16% from 1975 to 1979, Newfoundland's female participation rate stood at 36.2% last year. In two provinces, Alberta and Ontario, over half of all women in the working age population are in the labour force.

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<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of government actions and declines in the number of women in the labour force following World War II, see Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II," The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History Toronto, 1978, p. 125.



Source: 1953-1965: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force Dec. 1975, Cat. 71-001.

1966-1979: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics 1979, Cat. 71-201.

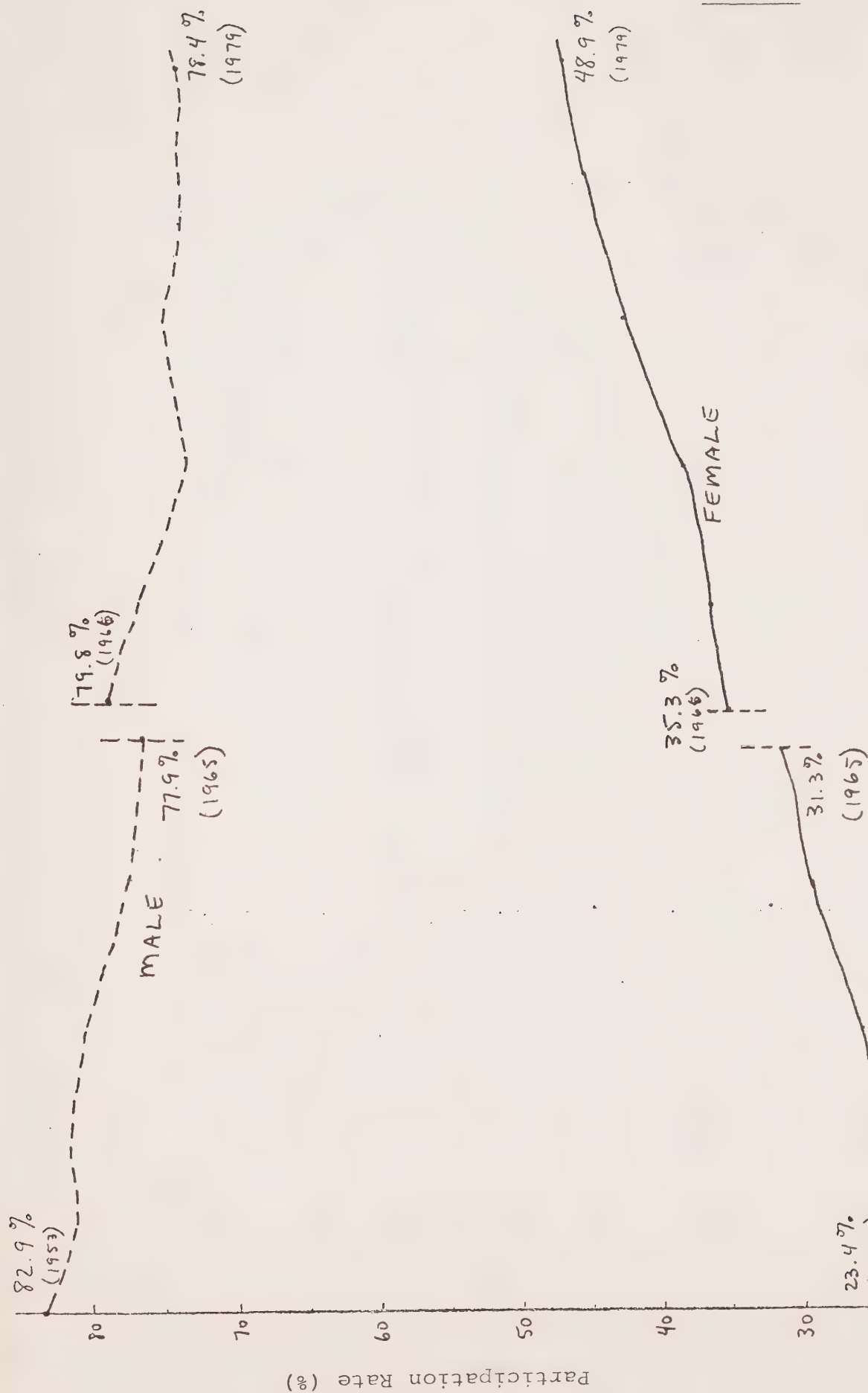


CHART 2

TABLE 1  
FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY PROVINCE, SELECTED YEARS

YEAR	Nfld.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	QUE.	ONT.	MAN.	SASK.	ALTA.	B.C.	CANADA
1966*	22.4%	28.6%	28.6%	29.1%	32.6%	36.1%	34.7%	27.6%	37.3%	33.0%	33.6%
1971*	25.5%	34.2	30.8	30.2	35.4	40.2	39.0	30.6	40.4	37.0	37.1
1975	31.2	41.4	39.1	38.0	40.1	48.6	43.4	40.3	49.6	45.2	44.4
1976	31.8	41.7	39.4	38.0	41.1	49.0	45.6	43.0	50.7	45.8	45.2
1977	34.2	43.0	40.1	38.6	42.2	49.8	46.7	44.1	51.2	45.9	46.0
1978	35.8	44.5	42.0	40.8	43.9	51.5	48.6	45.1	53.1	48.3	47.8
1979	36.2	46.2	42.1	41.0	44.5	53.3	49.3	46.5	54.6	48.6	48.9

\* 1966 and 1971 data are from the old Labour Force Survey and therefore are not strictly comparable with 1975-79 data from the revised Labour Force Survey.

Source: 1966, 1971:

Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, Part I, 1977.

1975-1978:

Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529.

1979:

Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, Cat 71-001, December 1979.



Female participation rates at the national level in 1979 exceeded 50% for all age groups except women aged 55-64 years. While young women (aged 20-24 years) continue to have the highest participation rate, the greatest growth in female participation over the last three decades has occurred among women aged 25-54 years. As Chart 3 indicates, participation rates for women in these age groups has increased tremendously, more than doubling from 1953 to 1979.

While single women have the highest participation rate, the participation rate for married women has shown the greatest increase. As Table 2 indicates, the participation rate for married women has increased by nearly six percentage points from 1975 to 1979, compared to 2.6 and 3.6 percentage points for single women and divorced, separated or widowed women, respectively. The average annual increase in the participation rate of married women over this period was 3.5%. The dramatic increase in the involvement of married women in the Canadian labour market is reflected in the fact that while in 1951 married women made up 6.6%<sup>3</sup> of the female labour force, by 1979 nearly one quarter of the female labour force was married.

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<sup>3</sup> Patricia Connelly, Last Hired, First Fired Toronto, 1978, p. 84.

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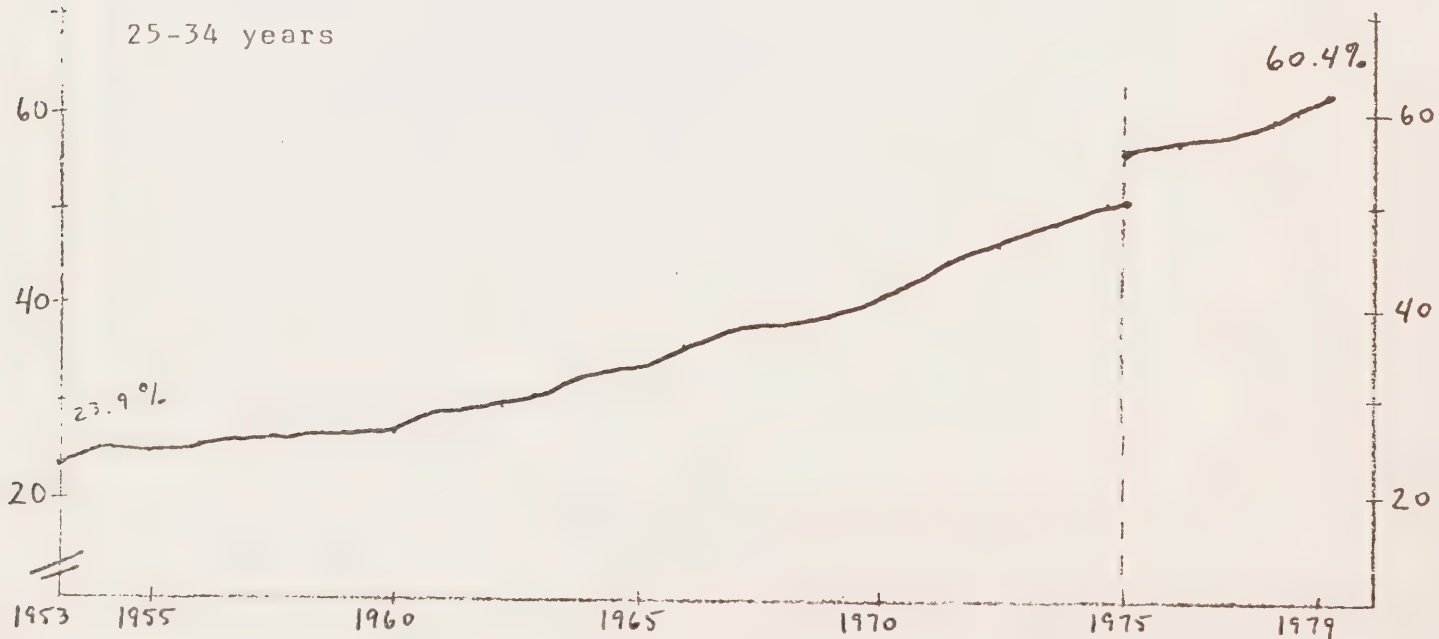
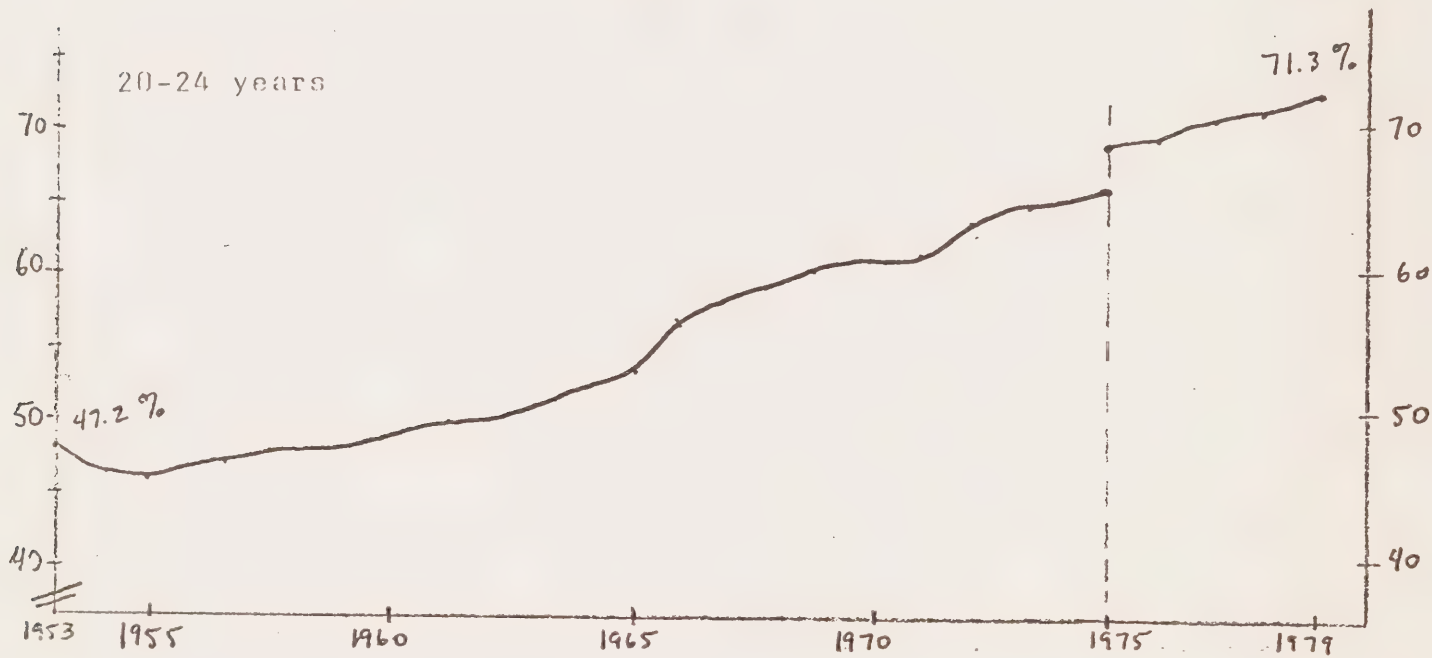
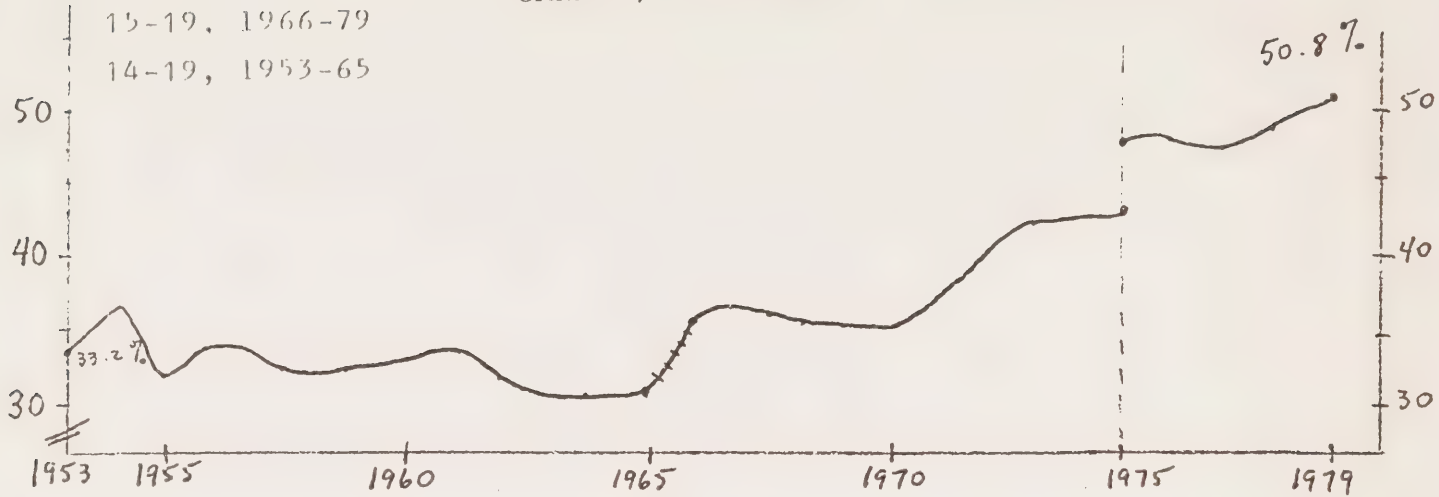
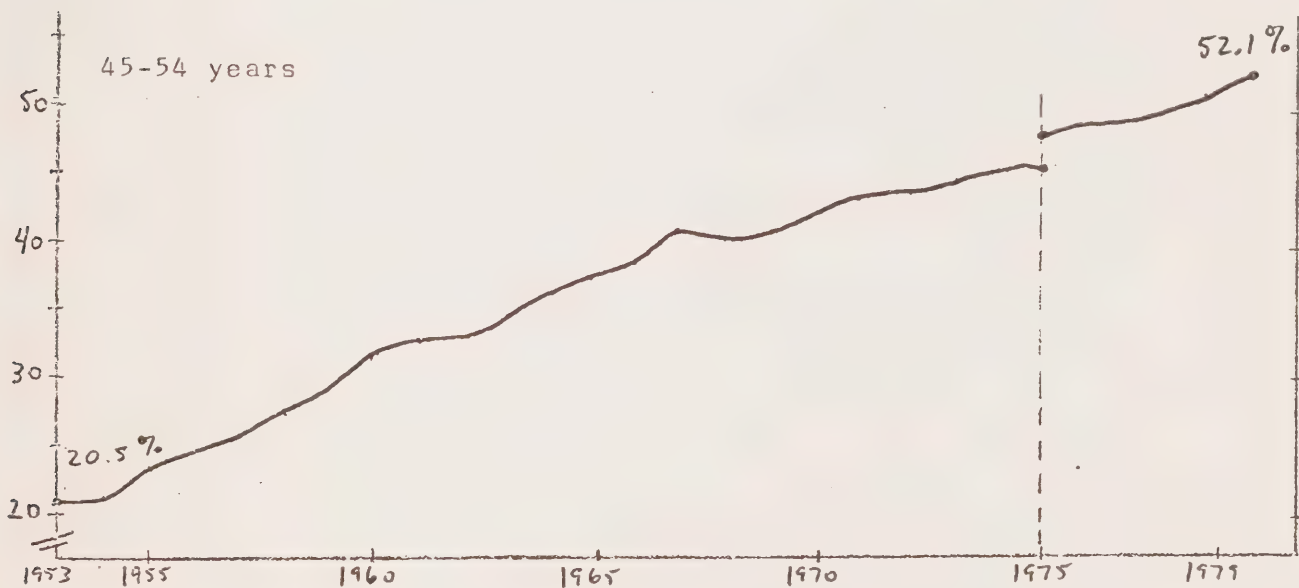
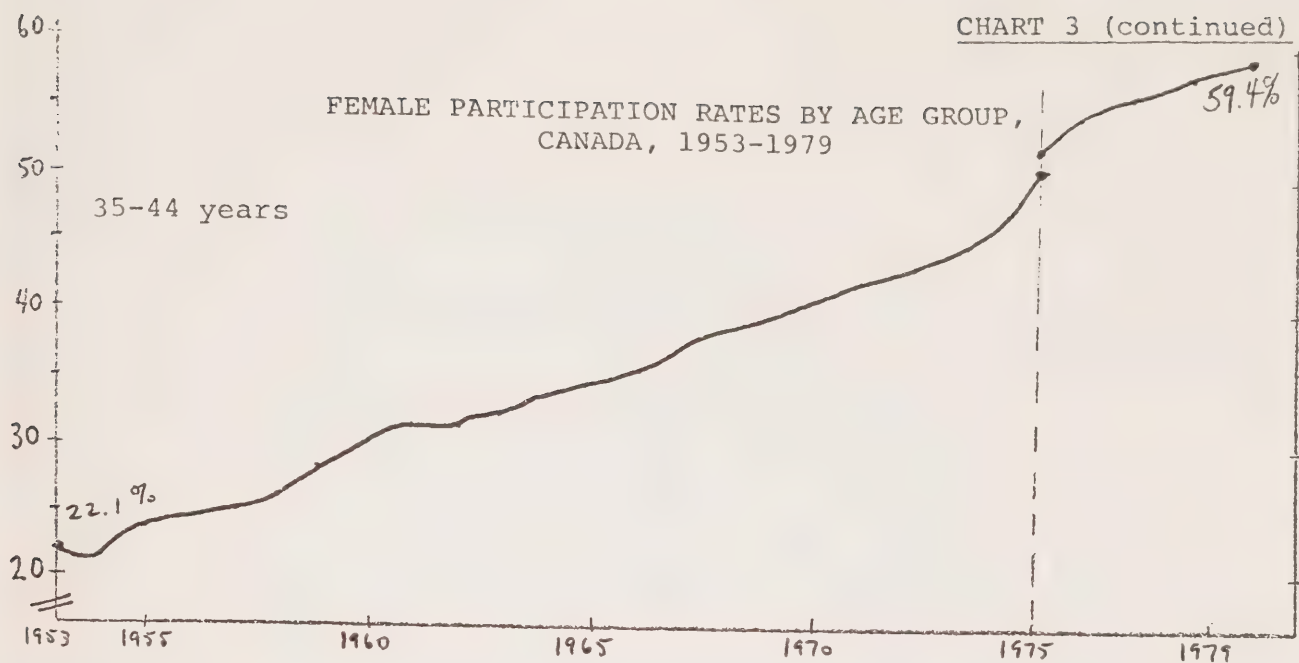
FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP,  
CANADA, 1953-1979

CHART 3 (continued)

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE GROUP,  
CANADA, 1953-1979



Source: 1953-75: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division  
 1975-79: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics

Cat.  
71-201

TABLE 2

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATE BY MARITAL STATUS, CANADA, SELECTED  
YEARS 1931-1979.

<u>YEAR*</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>	<u>SINGLE</u>	<u>OTHER</u>
1931	3.5%	43.8%	21.3%
1941	4.5	47.2	17.3
1951	11.2	58.3	19.3
1961	22.0	54.1	22.9
1971	37.0	53.5	26.5
1975	41.6	59.2	31.3
1976	42.9	58.8	31.5
1977	44.2	59.0	32.2
1978	46.3	60.5	33.5
1979	47.4	61.8	34.9

\* Statistics from 1931 Census are for females 10 years and over; 1941, 1951, 14 years and over; 1961, 1971 and all other years 15 years and over.

Source: 1931-1971: Patricia Connelly, Last Hired First Fired, Table 1.1.

1975-1979: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, Cat. 71-201, 1979.



Much of the great influx of married women into the labour force can be traced to the increasing participation of women with children under six years of age. Census data from 1971 and 1976 (Table 3) indicate that the participation rate of women aged 35-44 years with children under six registered the largest increase, followed by women aged 15-34 years with children under six. As a result, increasing numbers of women are combining roles as workers with those of wife and mother.

Unfortunately, it appears that the dual burden of work in the home and in the labour force faced by many women has not resulted in significant change in the intra-family division of labour. As Meissner et al.<sup>4</sup> have pointed out, the increase in workload for women with paid jobs is tremendous. In couples without a child under ten years, husbands increased their regular housework by six minutes per week when their wives became employed. In couples with a young child, the husbands' five hours of regular housework increased by one hour a week when their wives began to work for pay. The total weekly workload of the now employed wives increased by 18 hours.

There is evidence that changes are occurring in traditional patterns of female participation. Cohort analysis traces participation rate patterns of groups of women over time.

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<sup>4</sup> See "No Exit For Wives: Sexual Division of Labour and the Cumulation of Household Demands" by M. Meissner, et al. in Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 12(4), Part 1, 1975, p. 436.

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATION RATES OF MARRIED WOMEN (HUSBANDS PRESENT), BY AGE GROUP AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN IN THE HOME, 1971 AND 1976.

	Wives Aged 15-34	Wives Aged 35-44
With no children present		
1971	73.9	59.4
1976	77.5	65.5
Absolute increase (percentage points)	3.6	6.1
Relative increase (per cent)	4.9%	10.3%
With children, all over six		
1971	46.0	44.2
1976	54.9	53.6
Absolute increase (percentage points)	8.9	9.4
Relative increase (percent)	19.3%	21.3%
With children under six		
1971	28.0	25.4
1976	36.9	35.8
Absolute increase (percentage points)	8.9	10.4
Relative increase (per cent)	31.8%	40.9%

Source: 1971: Statistics Canada, 1971 Census of Canada, Labour Force Activity - Work Experience, Female Labour Force Participation by Schooling, Marital Status, Age, and Presence of Children, for Canada and the Regions, Cat. 94-774, Vol.3, Part 7 (Bulletin 3. 7-4).

1976: Statistics Canada, 1976 Census of Canada, Supplementary Bulletins; Economic Characteristics, Female Labour Force Participation Rates by Level of Schooling, Age, Marital Status and Presence of Children, Cat. 94-836, (Bulletin 10SE7).

Employment and Immigration Canada plotted participation rates of selected cohorts of women from the labour force surveys of 1955, 1965 and 1975.<sup>5</sup> Each cohort group covers an age span of ten years with a maximum of three observations for each cohort.<sup>6</sup>

The analysis which follows is taken from Ciuriak and Sims, Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada. Chart 4 shows a steady upward shift in participation rates of successive cohorts, reflecting the increase in female participation rates over the past twenty-five years. Cohort 3 follows the traditional pattern of female participation rates, with participation in the labour force falling sharply over the child-bearing years of 25-34 years and rising to a second peak between the ages of 40 and 55 years. However, cohort 2, born between 1941 and 1950, had sharply increasing participation rates between ages 14-24 and 25-34. As Ciuriak and Sims note,

This is a significant departure from the traditional female participation rate pattern; the increase in the participation rates of cohort 2 between ages 14-24 and 25-34 parallels the traditional pattern of male participation rates, which tend to rise strongly across these age groups.<sup>7</sup>

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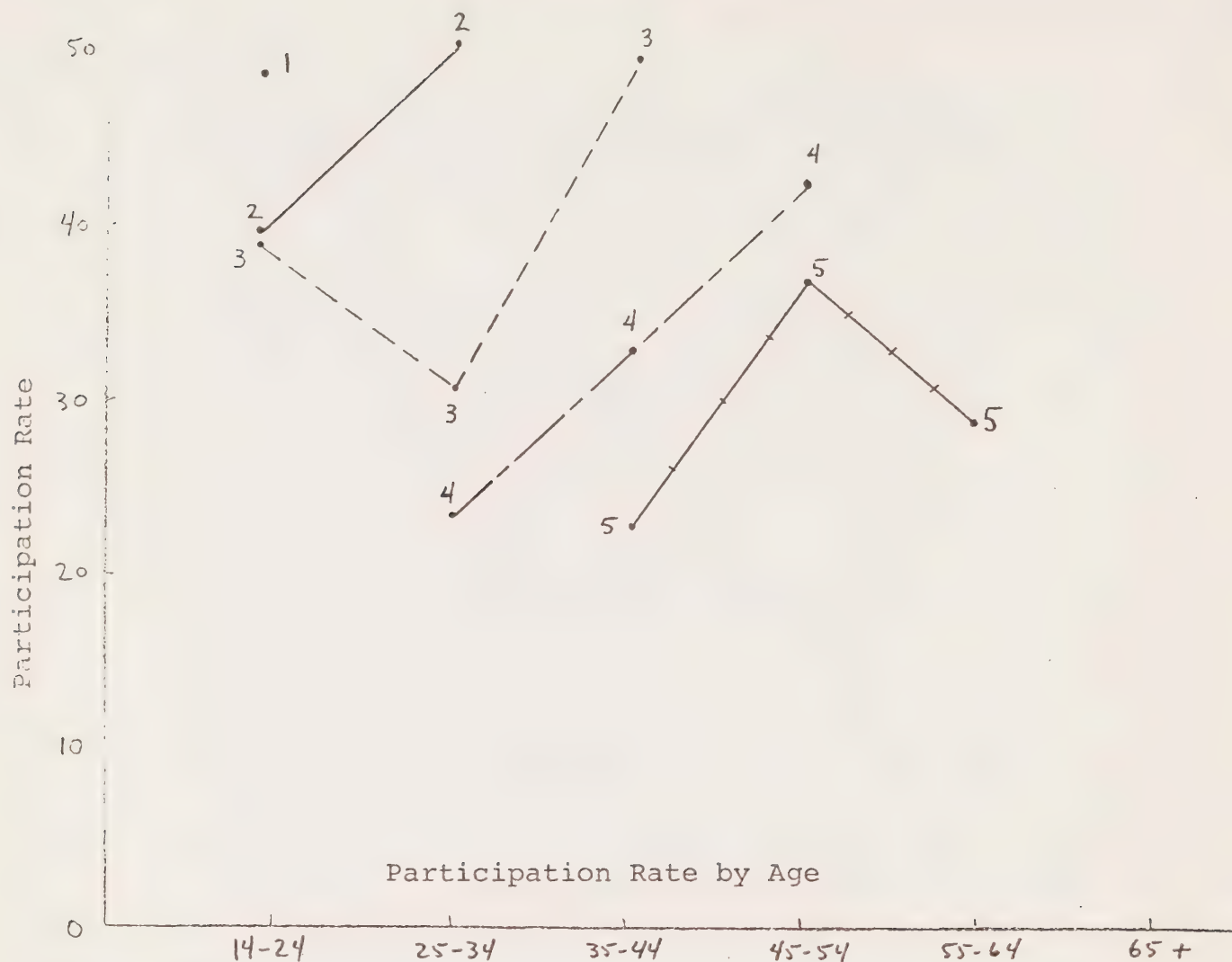
<sup>5</sup> Canada Department of Employment and Immigration, "Analyse du taux d'activité des femmes par la méthode des cohortes," by Serge Bertrand, Ottawa, November, 1978 (internal working paper).

<sup>6</sup> The cohorts aged 14-24 and 25-34 in 1975 have only one and two observations respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Canada Department of Finance, Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada, by Dan Ciuriak and Harvey Sims, Ottawa, April 1980.

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FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATES BY COHORT,  
CANADA, 1955-1975



Cohort Number	5	4	3	2	1
Born In	1911-1920	1921-1930	1931-1940	1941-1950	1951-1960

In year, age bracket of each cohort:	5	4	3	2	1
1955	35-44	25-34	15-24	-	-
1965	45-54	35-44	25-34	15-24	-
1975	55-64	45-54	35-44	25-34	15-24

Source: Employment and Immigration Canada, An Analysis of Female Labour Force Participation, Nov. 1978, as reproduced in Department of Finance Canada, Participation Rate and Labour Force Growth in Canada, April 1980.



However, five-year age group data from the 1976 Census indicate that the participation rate of women aged 25-29 in 1976 was in fact lower than the participation rate of the same cohort five years earlier . Ciuriak and Sims note that this traditional pattern has been reversed in the United States, Denmark and Sweden and indicate that it is highly probable that the same reversal is occurring at present in Canada. Thus, the pattern of labour force attachment of women is becoming increasingly like that of men.

The link that is often made between female participation rates and fertility rates appears to be diminishing, reflecting the increased labour force attachment of women in the prime child-bearing years. It is questionable whether the inverse relationship between fertility rates and participation rates for women 20-34 years which has persisted in Canada over the decades of the 1950s and 1960s will continue.<sup>8</sup> Small increases in participation rates of women aged 20-34 years accompanied increasing fertility rates through most of the 1950s. Throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s fertility rates dropped while female participation rates registered much larger increases. The slowdown in the rate of fertility decline in the mid-1970s has not been matched by a slowdown in the rate of increase in female participation rates of women in prime child-bearing years. This pattern has

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

appeared in the United States as well. As Ciuriak and Sims conclude,

the direction of causality linking fertility and participation rates is not obvious....Perhaps most likely, causality runs in both directions, with participation and child-bearing decisions being determined simultaneously.<sup>9</sup>

As Table 4 indicates, participation in the labour force is strongly correlated with level of education. Women with university degrees had a participation rate of over 70% in 1979, followed by those with post-secondary certificates or diplomas (62.7%), some post-secondary education (59.8%), high school (52.2%) and eight years or less of schooling (26.4%). The largest growth in participation rates over the period 1975 to 1979 occurred in that group of women with some post-secondary education followed by women with high school education.

Over half of both the male and the female labour force is made up of persons with a high school education (see Table 5). The second largest group in the male labour force are those persons with 0-8 years of education (accounting for nearly 20% of the male labour force). Women in this educational category make up only 13% of the female labour force. The share of the female labour force with a post-secondary certificate or diploma exceeds the male share (22.2% and 20.2% respectively).

According to a recent survey of university and college graduates, marital status appears to have a strong influence on labour market status of graduates. As Table 6 indicates, single women with degrees were more likely than single men with

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

TABLE 4

FEMALE PARTICIPATION RATE BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CANADA, 1975-1979

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>0-8 YEARS</u>	<u>HIGH SCHOOL</u>	<u>SOME POST- SECONDARY</u>	<u>POST-SECONDARY CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA</u>	<u>UNIVERSITY DEGREE</u>
1975	25.2%	47.2%	53.1%	59.2%	66.4%
1976	25.5	47.9	54.0	59.8	67.0
1977	25.3	48.4	56.8	60.6	68.1
1978	25.9	50.7	59.5	61.3	71.3
1979	26.4	52.2	59.8	62.7	70.7

Source: 1975-78: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529.

1979: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979, Cat. 71-001.

TABLE 5  
FEMALE AND MALE SHARE OF THE LABOUR FORCE, BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, CANADA, 1975-79

YEAR	0 - 8 YEARS		HIGH SCHOOL		SOME POST- SECONDARY		POST-SECONDARY CERTIFICATE OR DIPLOMA		UNIVERSITY DEGREE		TOTAL	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
1975	15.0%	23.4%	51.4%	44.7%	9.2%	9.8%	17.1%	11.8%	7.4%	10.4%	100%	100%
1976	14.1	22.0	53.6	46.9	9.9	10.1	15.1	10.2	7.4	10.8	100%	100%
1977	13.0	20.7	54.3	48.5	10.2	9.9	14.6	9.8	7.9	11.0	100%	100%
1978	12.9	20.4	55.0	49.3	9.8	9.2	14.2	10.0	8.2	11.0	100%	100%
1979	12.6	19.6	57.0	51.6	8.2	8.0	13.6	9.3	8.6	11.4	100%	100%

Note: Totals may not sum to 100% due to rounding.

Source: Calculated from: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529, and The Labour Force, December 1979, Cat. 71-001.



LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF GRADUATES BY QUALIFICATION LEVEL, SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, CANADA, 1978

LABOUR FORCE STATUS						
QUALIFICATION AND MARITAL STATUS		WORKING FULL-TIME OR ACCEPTED A FULL- TIME JOB	WORKING PART-TIME	LOOKING FOR A JOB	NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB	TOTAL**
ONE OR TWO YEAR COLLEGE DIPLOMA:						
SINGLE	F	88	5	4	2	100
	M	91	2	4	2	100
MARRIED	F	74	11	5	9	100
	M	94	1	3	1	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	75	-	-	-	100
	M	88	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	82	7	5	5	100
	M	91	2	4	2	100
THREE OR FOUR YEAR COLLEGE DIPLOMA:						
SINGLE	F	85	4	4	6	100
	M	88	3	6	2	100
MARRIED	F	72	10	5	12	100
	M	93	2	3	1	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	-	-	-	-	100
	M	-	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	79	7	4	9	100
	M	90	2	5	2	100

TABLE 6 (continued)

LABOUR FORCE STATUS						
QUALIFICATION AND MARITAL STATUS		WORKING FULL-TIME OR ACCEPTED A FULL- TIME JOB	WORKING PART-TIME	LOOKING FOR A JOB	NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB	TOTAL**
<u>BACHELOR'S OR FIRST PROFESSIONAL DEGREE</u>						
SINGLE	F	82%	6%	6%	6%	100%
	M	81	4	7	8	100
MARRIED	F	75	7	5	11	100
	M	90	2	3	4	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	78	-	-	-	100
	M	80	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	79	7	6	8	100
	M	85	3	5	6	100
<u>MASTER'S DEGREE :</u>						
SINGLE	F	79%	5%	4%	12%	100%
	M	74%	7%	4	15	100
MARRIED	F	71	9	5	14	100
	M	87	3	2	8	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED, DIVORCED	F	81	-	-	-	100
	M	77	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F	75	7	4	13	100
	M	83	4	3	10	100

TABLE 6 (continued)

QUALIFICATION AND MARITAL STATUS	LABOUR FORCE STATUS				TOTAL**
	WORKING FULL-TIME OR ACCEPTED A FULL- TIME JOB	WORKING PART-TIME	LOOKING FOR A JOB	NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR A JOB	
DOCTORAL DEGREE:					
SINGLE	F 93%	7%	-	-	100%
	M 85	-	-	-	100
MARRIED	F 76	-	-	-	100
	M 94	-	-	-	100
WIDOWED, SEPARATED,	F -	-	-	-	100
DIVORCED	M -	-	-	-	100
TOTAL*	F 81	-	-	-	100
	M 92	-	-	-	100

\*Includes graduates who did not indicate their marital status.

\*\*Includes graduates who did not indicate their employment status.

Source: Statistics Canada and the Women's Bureau, Canada Department of Labour, Higher Education-Hired?, Table 10.

degrees to be in the labour force and to be working full-time. The reverse was true for married women with either college or university degrees.

A quick glance at Canadian enrollment statistics reveals some interesting trends. Female full-time post-secondary enrollment has risen from 7.4% of the 18-24 year female population in 1960/61 to 18.1% in 1978/79, very near the male enrollment rate of 20.4%. The proportion of full time university undergraduates who are women has increased from 24.8% in 1960/61 to 44.9% in 1978/79. The proportion of graduate enrollments who are women has also increased, from 22.3% in 1970/71 to 33.3% in 1978.<sup>10</sup>

Patterns of specializations of female students also appear to be changing. While women continue to dominate traditional fields such as nursing, their involvement in less traditional specializations has increased. As Table 7 indicates, universities are graduating increasing numbers of women in fields such as medicine, pharmacy, law, commerce and economics.

The explanation of continuously increasing female participation rates lies in the fact that women are increasingly working for the same reasons men work; not merely out of economic necessity but (hopefully) for psychological and emotional fulfillment as well.

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<sup>10</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada Education in Canada, Cat.81-229, 1973, Tables 35, 40, 41 and 1979, Tables 2, 3, 4.



TABLE 7

FEMALE GRADUATES AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL FIRST DEGREE GRADUATES,  
SELECTED FIELDS AND SPECIALIZATIONS, CANADA, 1972-73 AND 1978

FIELD	FEMALE GRADUATES AS % OF TOTAL GRADUATES	
	1972-73	1978
Agriculture and Biological Science	39.2%	47.3%
Agriculture	18.1	29.3
Biology	32.8	41.7
Veterinary Medicine	10.8	29.1
Zoology	24.3	34.3
Education	52.8	65.2
Physical Education	40.0	47.5
Engineering and Applied Science	1.8	6.4
Architecture	10.1	20.2
Engineering	1.3	4.4
Health Professions	50.4	57.4
Dental Studies & Research	6.7	17.7
Medical Studies & Research	18.6	29.9
Nursing	96.9	96.9
Pharmacy	49.5	60.3
Humanities	49.3	58.6
History	34.4	41.9
Languages	63.7	72.1
Math & Physical Sciences	22.0	25.1
Mathematics	27.3	29.4
Chemistry	20.8	24.3
Physics	9.8	11.3
Social Sciences	30.1	40.8
Economics	11.2	22.8
Commerce	10.3	24.0
Law	13.9	27.7
Social Work	57.0	74.6
Sociology	51.7	64.7
TOTAL	39.8%	48.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, Education in Canada, 1978, Cat.  
81-229, Table 8.

The economic necessity of work is obvious for the 40% of the female labour force that is separated, divorced or widowed.<sup>11</sup> The contribution of the income of married women to families is equally important. The National Council of Welfare estimated that 51% more two-spouse families would be poor if wives did not work outside the home.<sup>12</sup> The Council report also provides a breakdown of labour force participation of wives under age 45 by family income (apart from the wife's earnings)<sup>13</sup>. The highest female participation rates occur in families with the lowest income level. Sixty-seven percent of married women under age 45 held paid jobs in families whose total income (excluding the wife's earnings) was under \$5,000 in 1976. Fifty-seven percent of wives were in the labour force when family income was between \$15,000 and \$20,000 while 46% of wives from families with incomes of over \$25,000 had jobs.

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<sup>11</sup> A continuation in the trend of rapid increases in the incidence of divorce will result in increasing numbers of women who are self-supporting. In 1961, 171.8 couples out of every 100,000 married couples aged 15 and over were divorced. By 1978 this figure had risen to 1,019.6.

<sup>12</sup> National Council of Welfare, Women and Poverty, Ottawa, 1979, p.21. Statistics are from special tabulations based on Statistics Canada's 1976 Survey of Consumer Finances. The definition of 'poor' used in the report is income below Statistics Canada's low income line.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Table 4, p. 22.

Empirical research on the relationship between cyclical movements in the economy and the female participation rates of women has not been conclusive. Ciuriak and Sims cite a number of studies with widely differing results on the presence of a discouraged-worker effect and an added-worker effect.<sup>14</sup> For any particular age group, at least one study indicated the presence of either a discouraged-worker effect and added-worker effect, or no significant cyclical effect at all. They conclude that;

This lack of consensus in the empirical literature, along with the apparent stability of the growth in female participation, suggests that cyclical influences may not be important factors underlying changes in female participation, or at least that they are not detectable at the aggregate level.<sup>15</sup>

The Department of Finance also concluded, after reviewing the 1971 Unemployment Insurance Act amendments which increased the benefit structure and reduced eligibility requirements, that participation rate patterns by age and sex were not

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<sup>14</sup> Discouraged-worker and added-worker effects refer to a statistical relationship between a measure of cyclical activity (often unemployment rates) and participation rates. A discouraged-worker effect occurs when individuals become discouraged about their job prospects as unemployment rises and drop out of the labour market, leading to a negative unemployment participation relationship. An added-worker effect occurs when individuals enter the labour market to supplement the income of the family which has fallen due to unemployment of other family members, thereby creating a positive unemployment-participation relationship.

<sup>15</sup> Ciuriak and Sims, p.5.

affected, at the national level, by the U.I. changes. Rather, "changes in the participation rates of adult men and adult women in the post-1970 period were well in line with historical experience."<sup>16</sup>

Projections of female participation rates have been notorious in their underestimation of the rate of growth in the female labour force.<sup>17</sup> However, recent estimates by the Canada Department of Finance are interesting in that, in one scenario at least, they indicate a significant reduction in the gap between male and female participation rates.<sup>18</sup> In the high growth scenario, participation rates for women 20+ rise to over 70% by 2000; in the low growth scenario they rise to just over 65%, compared to a projected male participation rate of 79.2% (see Table 8).

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<sup>16</sup> Canada Department of Finance, Canada's Recent Inflation Experience, Ottawa, November 1978, p. 37

<sup>17</sup> The Economic Council of Canada study, People and Jobs published in 1976 predicted that female participation rates would rise less rapidly in the late 1970s and early 1980s, "partly because many of the women who want to work are now in the labour force." (p. 26) A 1978 study by the Department of Finance predicted female participation rates of 47.4% in 1981, 48.9% in 1986 and 49.5% in 1990.

<sup>18</sup> Ciuriak and Sims, pp. 38-58. The estimates were developed on the basis of judgements as to what differentials between male and female participation rates would exist in 2000 and the time path of the narrowing of these differentials over the next 20 years.



TABLE 8

PAST AND PROJECTED PARTICIPATION RATES, FEMALE AND MALE, AGED  
20 AND OVER, CANADA.

<u>PARTICIPATION RATE*</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>WOMEN</u> <u>HIGH</u>	<u>MEN</u>
1953		23.0	86.4
1960		28.4	86.0
1965		33.1	84.7
1970		38.2	83.2
1975		43.9	82.4
1979		48.6	81.7
1985		55.6	81.5
1990	59.4	61.1	80.8
1995	62.6	66.0	80.0
2000	65.3	70.6	79.2

\*Estimates for years prior to 1975 have been adjusted to correspond to new labour force survey definitions.

Source: Ciuriak and Sims, Participation Rate and Labour Force  
Growth in Canada, Department of Finance, Table 16.

EMPLOYMENT

Female employment has risen dramatically over the past decade and a half, reflecting the large increases in the participation of women in the labour force. The employment-population ratio<sup>19</sup> for females showed a 30.4% increase between 1966 and 1979, compared to a decrease of 5.1% for men over the same period (see Chart 5). That is, the proportion of women in the working age population who actually have jobs has increased by nearly one-third since 1966. As with participation rate trends adult women experienced the bulk of this rapid increase, with a nearly 50% growth rate in the proportion of female working age population with jobs, compared to a rate of decrease of 3.7% of the male working age population with jobs. While both young men and women aged 15-24 years had a higher employment-population ratio in 1979 than 1966, the size of the increase for females (15.7%) out-stripped that of males (2.2%).

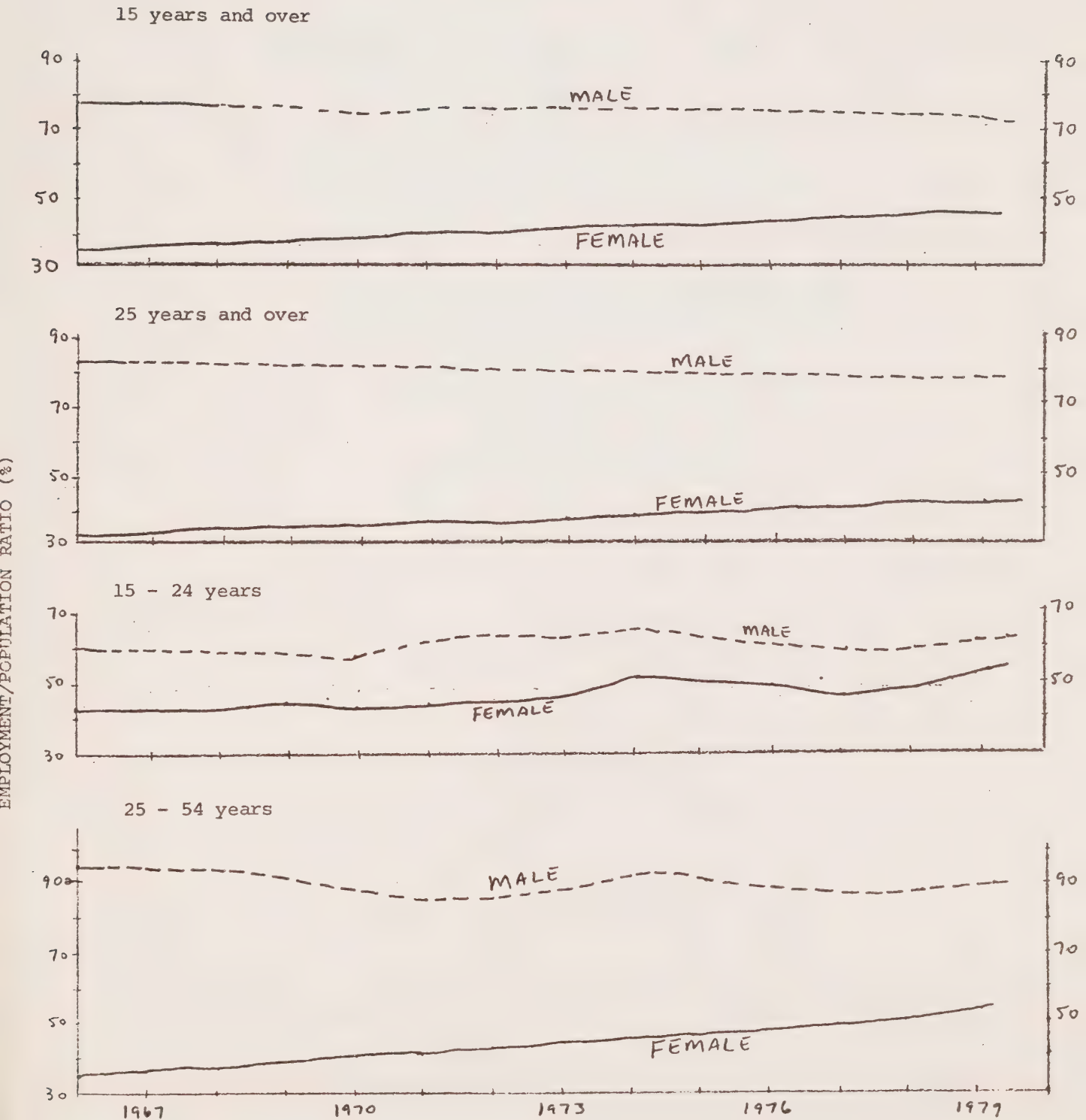
While large increases in employment have changed the degree of participation of women in the Canadian work force, the nature of their participation has remained remarkably unchanged. Women have been, and continue to be, concentrated in a relatively small number of occupations and industries. Occupational and industrial segregation is one of the most dramatic facts of the position of women in the Canadian labour market.

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<sup>19</sup> The employment population ratio represents employment as a percentage of the population 15 years of age and over.

EMPLOYMENT-POPULATION RATIOS BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS,  
CANADA, 1966-1979

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Source: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1979.

Cat. 71-201.

Women have always been concentrated into a few jobs. While the high concentration into relatively few jobs has remained, the types of jobs have changed with the changing economic environment. At the beginning of this century, three occupations-domestic service, teaching and dress-makers and seamstresses accounted for 60% of all female employment.<sup>20</sup> In 1979 over 60% of all women worked at three jobs as well-clerical, sales and service. If occupations in teaching and medicine and health are included, approximately 77% of employed women are accounted for (see Table 9). Male-dominated jobs in processing, machining, product fabricating, construction trades, transport and other equipment operating and materials handling together comprise only 10% of female employment.

Detailed occupational census data show that in 1971 64% of the female labour force was employed in 20 of 500 occupational groups. Further, almost half the men in the labour force are in occupations containing fewer than 5% females per occupation. Over two-thirds of all employed women are in occupations in which they represent a strong majority.

The evidence of occupational segregation becomes even clearer when job categories are broken down to finer levels. Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong<sup>21</sup> identified from Census data the ten consistently leading female occupations over

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<sup>20</sup> Department of Manpower and Immigration, Canada Manpower and Immigration Review, p. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, The Double Ghetto Toronto, 1978, Tables 6 and 7, pp. 32-33.



TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION, CANADA, 1979

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL FEMALE EMPLOYMENT</u>	<u>% OF TOTAL EMPLOYMENT WHICH IS FEMALE</u>
Managerial, Professional, etc.	24.0%	40.7%
Clerical	34.0	77.1
Sales	10.7	39.9
Service	17.9	53.9
Primary Occupations	3.0	18.0
Processing	7.8	19.1
Construction	0.2	1.4
Transportation	0.6	5.3
Materials Handling & Other Crafts	1.8	18.2
TOTAL	100.0%	38.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979,  
Cat. 71-001.

the last thirty years. As Table 10 indicates, nearly half of all women worked in these occupations in 1971. In addition, they out-numbered the men in these jobs in every case but one. Removing personal service workers from the list<sup>22</sup> leaves about 39% of all employed women in these jobs in 1941 and 43% of all employed women in 1971. Over the thirty year period covered by these Census data, "women's work" has remained remarkably stable.

Armstrong and Armstrong point out the inferiority of the employment position of women reflected in these data. Elementary and kindergarten teachers were 82.3% female while higher income jobs as secondary school teachers were done by men (55.5% male). Similarly, 90.9% of sewing machine operators were female but 72.6% of the foremen in fabricating occupations were male.

The movement of women into jobs traditionally dominated by men has been slow. The 1971 Census is the most recent source of data on employment in detailed occupational categories. As Table 11 indicates, the presence of women in some male-dominated jobs is not a trend sufficiently strong to improve the overall picture of occupational segregation.

The conclusions of an American study into female penetration in non-traditional occupations may be instructive

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<sup>22</sup> The very large decline in the number of domestic servants would distort the trend in all other jobs.

TABLE 10

## SIMILAR LEADING FEMALE OCCUPATIONS, CANADA, 1971

OCCUPATION	FEMALE % OF OCCUPATION	% OF TOTAL FEMALE WORKERS
Stenographers and typists	96.9	12.3
Secretaries and Stenographers	97.4	9.1
Typists and clerk-typists	95.6	3.2
Salespersons	51.0	6.7
Salesmen and sales persons, commodities, n.e.c. <sup>1</sup>	21.8	0.6
Sales clerks, commodities	66.0	6.0
Service station attendants	4.3	-
Personal service workers	93.5	3.4
Chambermaids and house men	95.5	0.5
Babysitters	96.6	0.8
Personal service workers, n.e.c.	92.2	2.1
Teachers	66.0	6.4
Elementary and kindergarten	82.3	4.5
Secondary school	44.5	1.9
Fabricators, assemblers, and repairers of textiles, fur and leather products	76.0	3.4
Foremen	27.4	0.1
Patternmakers, markers, and cutters	32.6	0.1

(continued on next page)

TABLE 10 (continued)

OCCUPATION	FEMALE % OF OCCUPATION	% OF TOTAL FEMALE WORKERS
Tailors and dressmakers	73.0	0.6
Furriers	48.8	-
Milliners, hat and cap makers	57.4	-
Sewing machine operators, textile and similar materials	90.1	2.2
Inspectors, testers, graders and samplers	84.1	0.1
Fabricators, assemblers and repairers, n.e.c.	72.3	0.3
Graduate Nurses	95.4	3.9
Supervisors, nursing occupations	92.8	0.5
Nurses, graduate, except supervisors	95.8	3.4
Waiters and bartenders	76.6	4.1
Waiters, hostesses, and stewards (food and beverages)	82.9	4.0
Bartenders	14.5	0.1
Nursing assistants, aides and orderlies	79.2	2.9
Nursing assistants	91.9	0.9
Nursing aides and orderlies	74.4	2.0
Telephone operators	95.9	1.2
Janitors, charworkers and cleaners	32.4	2.1
TOTAL	72.0	46.4

1 N.e.c. means not elsewhere classified: means less than 0.1 per cent.

Source: The Double Ghetto, Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, Table 7, p. 33.



TABLE 11

FEMALE WORKERS IN SELECTED OCCUPATIONS, CANADA, 1971

<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>FEMALE % OF OCCUPATION</u>	<u>% OF ALL FEMALE WORKERS</u>
Dentists	4.7%	-
Dental hygienists, assistants, & technicians	76.6	0.3%
University Teachers	16.7	0.1
Physicians & Surgeons	10.1	0.1
Lawyers & Notaries	4.8	-
Industrial Engineers	3.3	-
Mail Carriers	7.6	0.1
Mail & Postal Clerks	43.9	0.5
Forestry Conservation Occupations	0.1	-
Log inspecting & related	-	-
Labouring, mining & quarrying	0.9	-
Metal processing	6.3	-
Motor vehicle assembly	5.2	0.1
Electrical equipment assembly	48.0	0.3
Business & commercial machine repairing	0.7	-
Brick and stone masons and tile setters	0.5	-
Plumbers	0.6	-

Source: Calculated from 1971 Census, Vol. 3.2, Table 8.

for the Canadian situation. Beatrice Reubens and Edwin Reubens<sup>23</sup> studied changes in the sex composition of over 400 jobs from 1960 to 1970. They found that the movement of women into jobs traditionally held by men proceeds most rapidly in fields where women have a strong position in related female-intensive fields which are not cut off from the male-intensive jobs by requirements of education, training, physical characteristics or other segmenting influences. This pattern is obvious in female breakthroughs in male-dominated jobs in the clerical field. They also identified the creation of new female ghettos in jobs which men are leaving, voluntarily or involuntarily. The distribution of male employment growth revealed a high concentration in occupational groups which included many of the best opportunities for high paid, supervisory, skilled and professional posts.

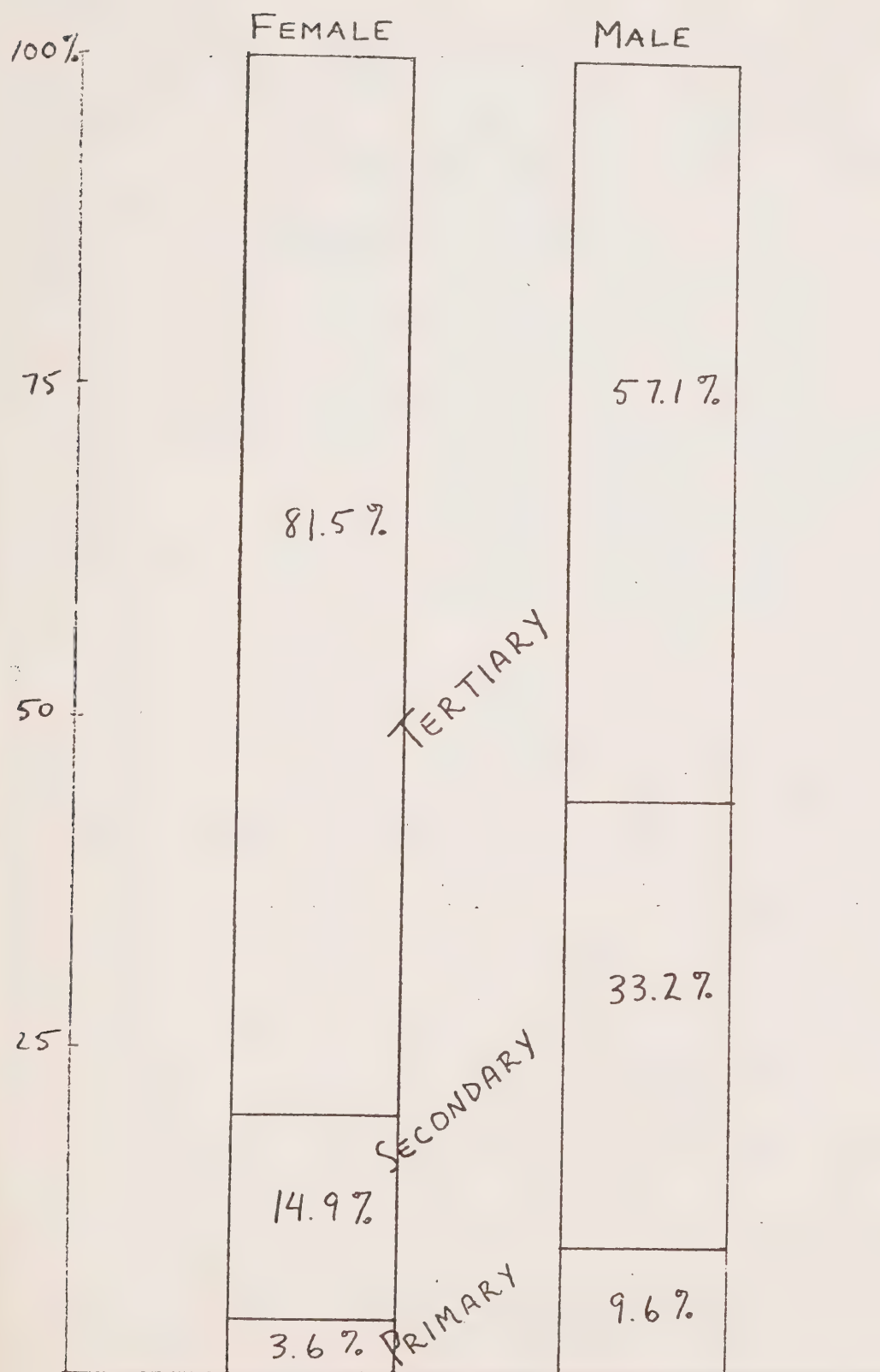
Women are also concentrated in certain industries in our economy. They are greatly underrepresented in the goods-producing sector of the economy and greatly overrepresented in the service producing sector (see Chart 6). As Table 12 indicates, women are concentrated in tertiary industries where they form a large part of the work force.

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<sup>23</sup> Beatrice Reubens and Edwin Reubens, "Women Workers, Non-Traditional Occupations and Full Employment", in American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy: A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, Washington, 1977, p. 103.

INDUSTRIAL COMPOSITION OF EMPLOYMENT BY SEX,  
CANADA, 1979

67



Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force Dec. 1979  
Cat. 71-001

In 1951, two-thirds of all women worked in the four industries of trade; finance, insurance and real estate; community, business and personal services; and public administration and defence.<sup>24</sup> In 1971, after a decade and a half of dramatically increasing female participation in the labour force, over three-quarters of all women workers were concentrated in these industries. In contrast, less than 5% of all female workers were located in primary industries. The proportion of the female labour force in manufacturing actually declined from 21.3% in 1941 to 15.3% in 1971. The Census data indicate that women have found jobs, by and large, in industries and occupations which have experienced increased demands for labour and which already contained a high proportion of women.

In the American experience, "the rapidly growing areas of work have been those in which technological advances have had less impact on productivity; where more work has required more workers; and where labour costs have accounted for a high proportion of total costs."<sup>25</sup>

As a result, Armstrong and Armstrong argue, salaries tend to be low. When industries are ranked by the level of average weekly earnings, a consistent pattern emerges - as industry wages increase, the proportion of female workers decreases.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, Table 2, p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> Robert W. Smuts, Women and Work in America, New York, 1959 cited in Armstrong and Armstrong, p. 27.

<sup>26</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, Table 4, p. 28.



TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT BY INDUSTRY, CANADA, 1979

<u>INDUSTRY</u>	<u>% OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT</u>	<u>% OF EMPLOYMENT WHICH IS FEMALE</u>
Agriculture	3.0%	25.2%
Other Primary Industries	0.6	8.8
Manufacturing	13.6	26.5
Construction	1.3	8.0
Transportation, Communication & Other Utilities	4.6	20.6
Trade	18.9	42.2
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	8.2	59.3
Service	43.7	59.7
Public Administration	6.1	34.7
TOTAL	100.0%	38.8%

Source: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979,  
Cat. 71-001, Table 75.

In addition to high levels of occupational and industrial concentration, women's employment is characterized by a high degree of part-time work.<sup>27</sup> In 1979, 72% of all part-time jobs were held by women. Nearly one quarter of all work done by women is part-time, compared to less than 6% of the work done by men.

As Chart 7 indicates, the growth of part-time employment has exceeded that of full-time employment since 1966 except for the period 1971 to 1973. Similarly, female part-time employment grew faster than female full-time employment in all periods except 1972/73.

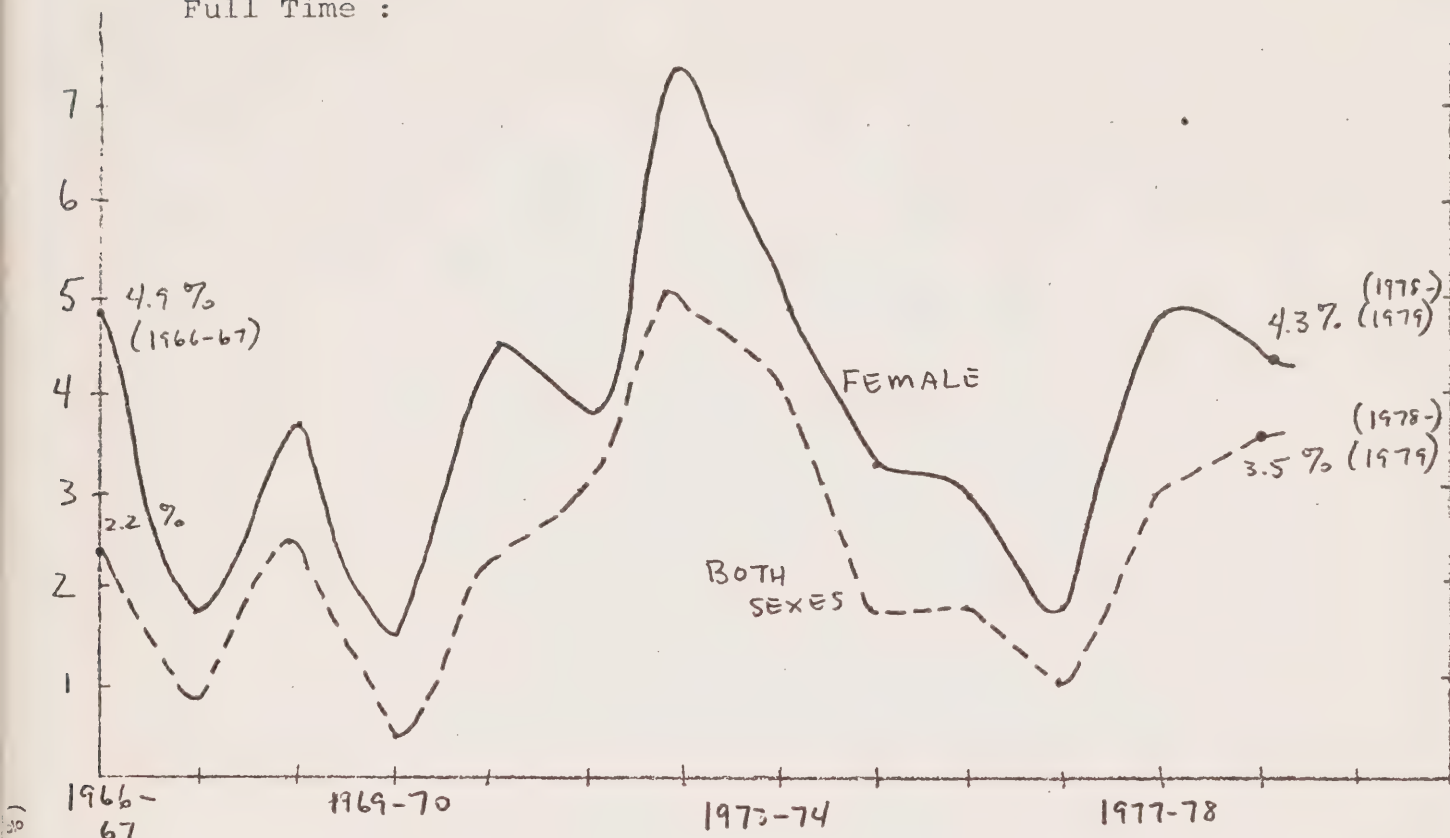
Over 1 million jobs in service-producing industries were part-time in 1979. The bulk of these were found in community, business and personal services (with 20.5% of total industry employment in part-time) and trade (with 21.3% of total industry employment in part-time).

Reflecting this industry pattern, 67.1% of total part-time employment was located in clerical, sales and service occupations. Only in the construction industry do women account for less than half of all part-time workers.

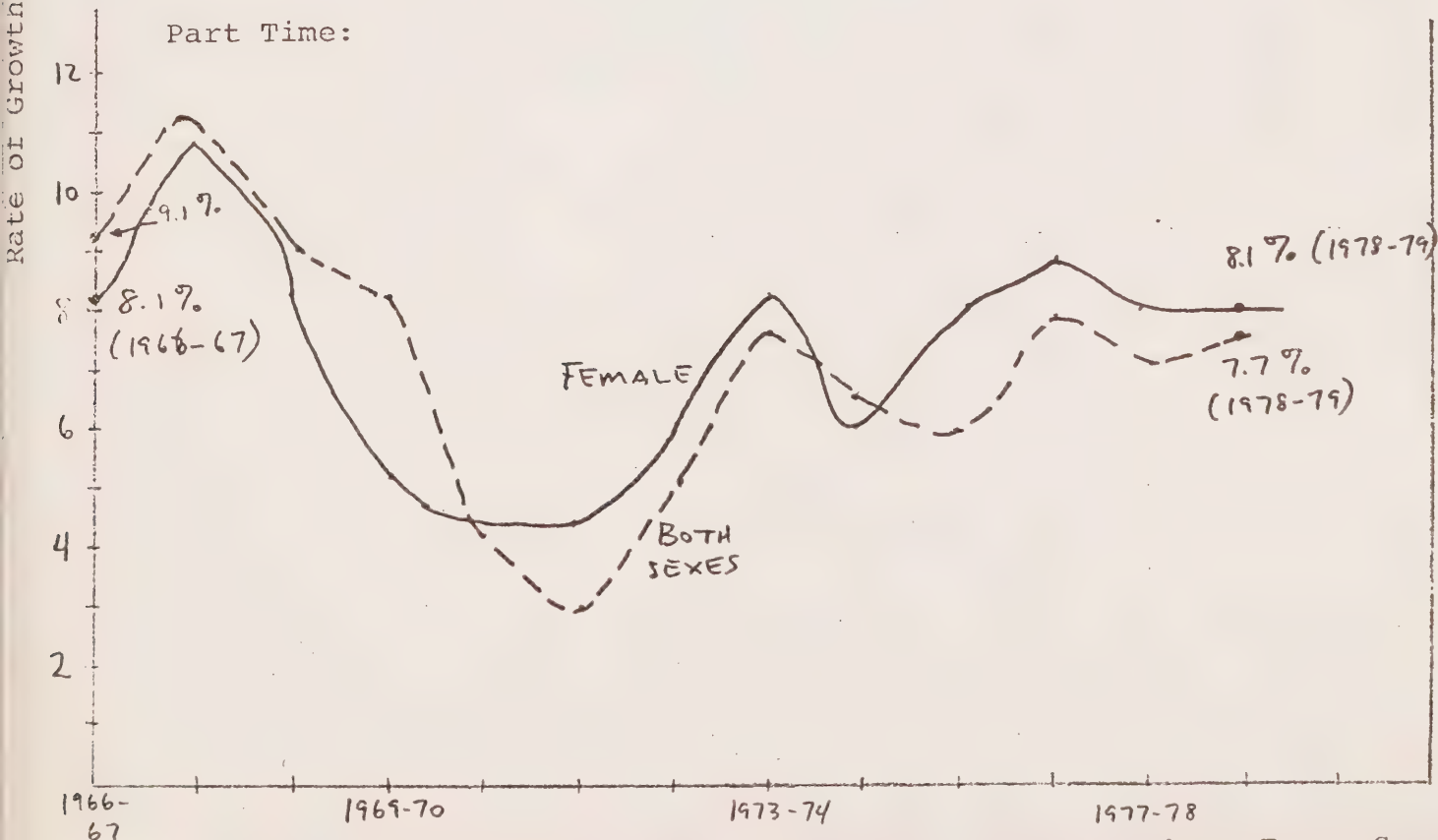
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<sup>27</sup> Defined by Statistics Canada to be less than 30 hours per week.

Full Time :



Part Time:



Sources: Calculated from: 1966-75 - Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division (unpublished data series); 1976-79 - Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics 1979, Cat.71-201

The heaviest concentration of female part-time employment occurs among married women and women aged 25-44 years. Married women form 63.4% of all female part-time workers. In contrast, male part-time workers are most likely to be single (single men hold 73.4% of all part time jobs held by men) and young (young men aged 15-24 years account for 71.9% of male part-time employment).

Trends by province in part-time employment by sex, age and marital status are similar to national trends. In all provinces, women perform at least twice the amount of part-time work done by men.

Women also perform more unpaid work than do men. In 1979 2.8% of all employed women were unpaid workers, compared to 0.5% of all male workers. Most of the unpaid work occurs in agriculture where over half of all female workers in the agricultural sector were unpaid, compared to about 7% of male workers in the sector.



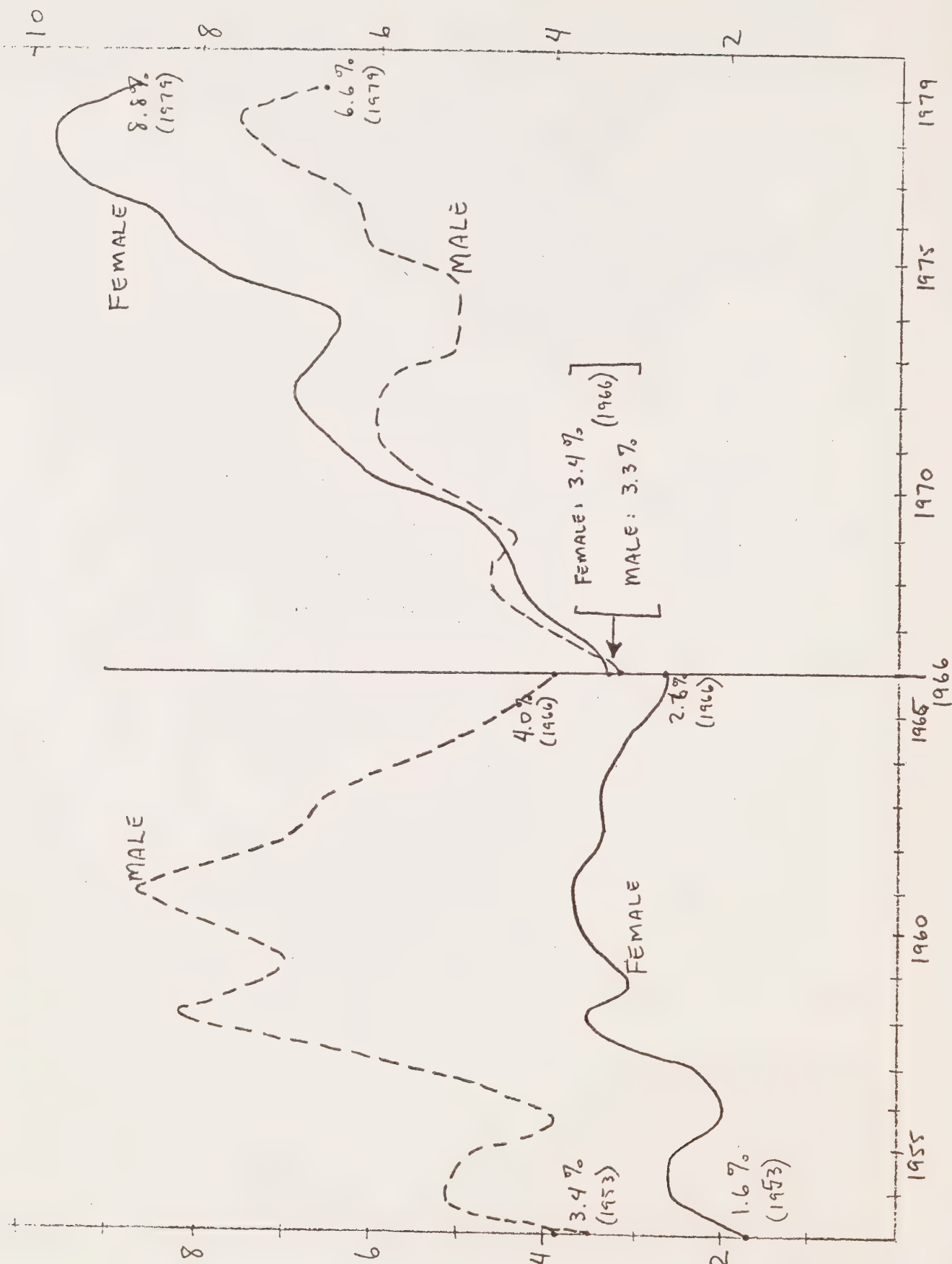
Women are disproportionately represented among the unemployed. Although they form 39% of the labour force, women account for 46% of total unemployment. The overwhelming pattern which emerges when occupational, industrial and regional aspects are considered is the uniformity with which female unemployment rates exceed those of men.

As Chart 8 indicates, female unemployment rates have consistently exceeded those of men every year since 1969. In 1979, 8.8% of the female labour force (or 386,000 women) were unemployed, compared to 6.6% of the male labour force.

It is interesting to note the sharp upward revision in the female unemployment rate which occurred as a result of the 1975 revisions to the Labour Force Survey. Under the old Labour Force Survey, the female unemployment rate in 1975 stood at 6.4% and the male unemployment rate at 7.4%. The female unemployment rate had been lower than the male rate each year from 1953 to 1975 under the old Labour Force Survey.

The questions relating to unemployment in the old Labour Force Survey were indirect: "What did this person do mostly last week?" The 1975 revisions, among other things, changed these questions to: "In the past 4 weeks, has this person looked for another job?" Women who fulfilled their ongoing household responsibilities while looking for work would probably not be considered as truly looking for work and therefore would not be counted as unemployed or in the labour force under the first set of questions. Job search activity (and hence incidence of unemployment) would more likely be accurately captured by the second set of questions.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE BY SEX,  
CANADA, 1953-1979



Sources: 1953-66: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force Dec. 1975, Cat. 71-001  
1966-79: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics

As a result of the revisions, the female unemployment rate for 1975 was moved up from 6.4% to 8.1%. The male unemployment rate was revised down from 7.4% to 6.2%.

In all provinces, women experience a higher rate of unemployment than do men. As Table 13 indicates, women in Quebec, British Columbia and the Maritimes have been hardest hit by unemployment.

In every industry except construction, female unemployment was higher than male unemployment each year from 1975 to 1979. The highest female unemployment rate was registered in the manufacturing sector. The female unemployment rate was high also in female-dominated industries of trade (7.6%) and community, business and personal service (7.9%).

Women in every occupational group were harder hit by unemployment than were men from 1975 to 1979. The highest female unemployment rates were found in processing (16%), materials handling (15.7%), service (11.0%) and product fabricating (10.6%). The female unemployment rate was about double the male rate in the following occupations: managerial and administrative (female unemployment rate 4.4%); teaching (4.5%), and processing.

Unlike their adult counterparts, women aged 15-24 years have a lower unemployment rate than men 15-24 years (see Chart 9). However, the differential between the male and female rates has been steadily declining. In 1970 the unemployment rate for young women was about 23% lower than that for young men; by 1979 the female rate was only 4.5% lower than the male rate.

TABLE 13

FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES AND RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE  
UNEMPLOYMENT RATES, BY PROVINCE, 1979

<u>PROVINCE</u>	<u>FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>	<u>RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>
Canada		1.33
Newfoundland	16.1	1.07
P.E.I.	-*	-
Nova Scotia	11.7	1.26
New Brunswick	12.5	1.21
Quebec	11.1	1.28
Ontario	7.8	1.39
Manitoba	6.3	1.34
Saskatchewan	5.4	1.59
Alberta	4.9	1.53
British Columbia	9.3	1.41

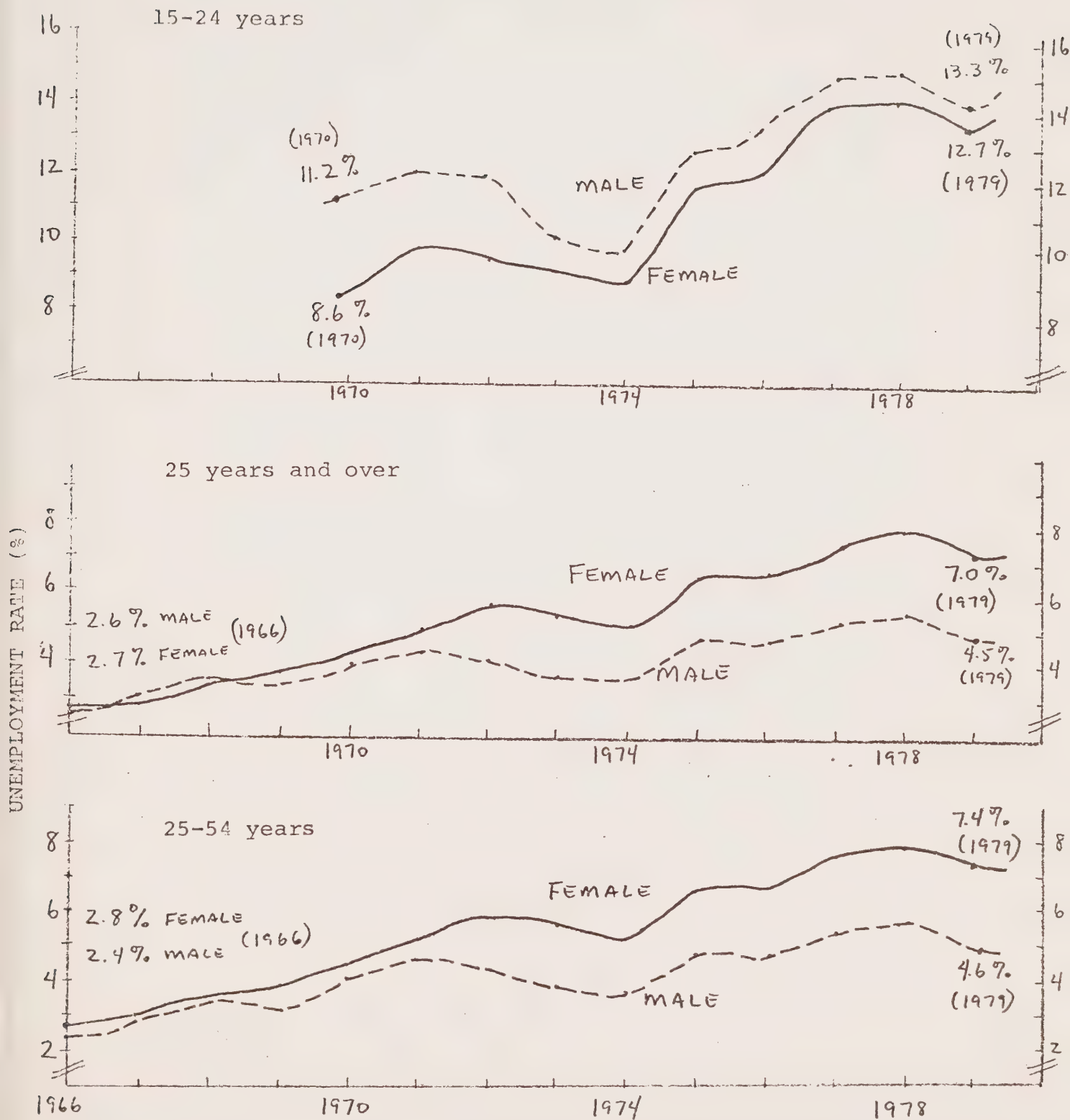
\* No sex breakdown available.

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force,  
December 1979, Cat. 71-0001, Table 91.



UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND AGE GROUP,  
CANADA, 1966-1979

77



Source: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics 1979, Catalogue 71-201

The unemployment rate for females 25-54 years has also worsened significantly in relation to changes in the male unemployment rate. In 1966, the unemployment rate for women aged 25-54 years was 17% higher than the male unemployment rate for the same age group; by 1979 the female rate was 61% higher.

Unemployment rates for single people of both sexes are the highest. However, only single women have an unemployment rate lower than that of men (see Table 14). The situation of married women is particularly dramatic. The unemployment rate for married women in 1979 was 95% higher than the rate for married men.

The largest component of total female unemployment occurred among re-entrants to the labour force. In 1979 over one-third of total female unemployment was experienced by this group. Of the 138,000 women reentering the labour force in 1979, almost 46% had been out of the labour force more than one year. Re-entrants accounted for about 16% of male unemployment.

Similarly, entrants to the labour force accounted for a larger portion of female unemployment (8.0%) than male unemployment (4.6%). The portion of total unemployed who were "job leavers" were similar for women (23.1% of female unemployment) and men (20.8% of male unemployment). A much greater proportion of unemployed men were "job losers" - over 58%, compared to 33% of unemployed women.

For each of the years 1975 to 1979 women have had a shorter duration of unemployment than men. This was true regardless of marital status. In 1979 the average duration of unemployment for women was 14.5 weeks; 15.1 weeks for men.

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS, CANADA, 1975-1979

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>MARRIED</u>		<u>SINGLE</u>		<u>OTHER</u>	
	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>M</u>
1975	7.9%	4.0%	9.1%	12.2%	6.4%	8.2%
1976	8.0	3.9	9.5	12.9	7.4	7.9
1977	8.9	4.5	11.0	14.6	7.7	8.5
1978	9.1	4.8	11.0	14.8	8.8	9.5
1979	8.0	4.1	10.4	13.0	8.2	7.9

Source: Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics, 1979, Cat. 71-201.

The unemployment rates presented above exclude those people who want jobs but who have stopped looking for work because they believe no work is available. This "hidden unemployment" can significantly increase the official unemployment rates. In 1979 nearly 25,000 women wanted jobs but did not believe that work was available and therefore were not counted in the official estimates of the unemployed. Table 15 presents the numbers of persons who believed no work was available, along with unemployment rates adjusted to include these people. The inclusion of these individuals in the definition of unemployment raises the 1979 female unemployment rate to 9.3%.

While a complete measure of the extent of female underemployment is difficult to obtain, the inability to work in a full-time job provides some indication of the presence of this phenomenon. In the labour force survey, respondents are asked why they are working part-time rather than full-time. Only two reply options ("did not want full-time work" and "could only find part-time work") seem unambiguous. The other options are "going to school", "personal or family responsibilities" and "other". It is not clear to which extent women in these categories wanted full-time work but were obliged to take part-time jobs due to such factors as lack of child care.

TABLE 15

PERSONS BELIEVING NO WORK AVAILABLE AND ADJUSTED UNEMPLOYMENT  
RATES,\* CANADA, 1976-1979

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>BELIEVE NO WORK AVAILABLE</u>	
	<u>FEMALE</u> ( <u>'000</u> )	<u>MALE</u> ( <u>'000</u> )
1976	16	17
1977	23	22
1978	28	25
1979	25	24

\*            \*            \*

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>		<u>MALE UNEMPLOYMENT RATE</u>	
	<u>UNADJUSTED</u>	<u>ADJUSTED*</u>	<u>UNADJUSTED</u>	<u>ADJUSTED*</u>
1976	8.4%	8.8%	6.3%	6.6%
1977	9.4	10.0	7.3	7.6
1978	9.6	10.2	7.6	7.9
1979	8.8	9.3	6.6	7.0

\* Adjustments were made by adding the number of persons believing no work available to total unemployment (as defined by the Labour Force Survey) and to total labour force and then calculating the unemployment rate.

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529 and The Labour Force, December 1979, Cat. 71-001.



In 1979, 15.7% of all women working part-time did so due to "personal or family responsibilities." Less than 1 % of all male part-time workers cited this as their reason. Table 16 shows, by age group, women and men who could only find part-time work. There is a difference between men and women in terms of who could find only part-time work. Men in this situation are most likely to be young and single, while women are most likely to be married and 25-54 years of age.

Data from a 1978 survey of male and female post-secondary graduates indicate that men and women with the same training tend to find jobs in quite different fields, with women highly concentrated in clerical occupations. The largest occupation for female graduates with one, two, three and four year college diplomas in business, management and commerce studies was clerical; for male graduates with the same specialization, the largest occupational groups were managerial and sales.<sup>28</sup> While not all of this job differential can automatically be translated as underemployment, there is no doubt that a large part of female labour is presently working at levels lower than capacity.

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<sup>28</sup> Statistics Canada and Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, Higher Education - Hired?, Ottawa, September, 1980.

UNDEREMPLOYMENT, ACTUAL LEVELS AND AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL  
PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT, CANADA, 1975-1979.

YEAR		15-24 YEARS ( '000)	25-54 YEARS ( '000)	55+ YEARS ( '000)	TOTAL ( '000)	AS % OF TOTAL PART-TIME EMPLOYMENT
1975	F	33	36	5	74	7.5%
	M	21	9	4	34	3.4%
	T	54	46	9	109	11.0%
1976	F	39	41	6	86	8.2%
	M	26	9	4	39	3.7%
	T	66	49	11	126	11.9%
1977	F	51	53	8	112	9.9%
	M	33	13	4	50	4.4%
	T	84	66	12	162	14.3%
1978	F	62	66	9	137	11.3%
	M	40	16	5	61	5.0%
	T	102	82	14	198	16.3%
1979	F	72	77	11	159	12.2%
	M	42	16	6	64	4.9%
	T	114	93	17	223	17.1%

\* Defined as those individuals who could only find part-time work.

Source: 1975-78: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978, Cat. 71-529.

1979: Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979, Cat. 71-001.

In 1978, full-year women workers earned, on average, \$10,098 or about 58% of the average male income.<sup>29</sup> This wage gap has shown little sign of closing.<sup>30</sup>

A recent study by Statistics Canada indicates that, for the same level of educational qualifications, male graduates earn more than female graduates.<sup>31</sup> Income data was collected in 1978 for 1976 graduates of community colleges and universities. At each diploma level, earnings of men employed full-time exceeded those of women. At the bachelor's degree level, for instance, the median female salary was \$14,150 compared to a median male salary of \$15,390. Male earnings exceeded female earnings in all fields of study, with the exception of "other medical and dental services" for two-year diploma holders where average female earnings exceeded those of men by ten dollars.

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<sup>29</sup> Statistics Canada, Income Distributions By Size in Canada, 1978 Cat. 13-207, Table 41, p. 70. These figures are average earned income for full year workers, i.e. employees who worked 50-52 weeks in 1978.

<sup>30</sup> As Ruth Blumrosen points out, the wage differential between women and men has not changed much since Biblical days when "a male between 20 and 60 years shall be valued at 50 shekels....If it is a female she shall be valued at 30 shekels." (Leviticus 27:3-4), "Wage Discrimination, Job Segregation and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964", in University of Michigan Journal of Law Reform, Vol. 12, Spring 1979, No. 3., p. 425.

<sup>31</sup> Statistics Canada and the Women's Bureau Department of Labour, Higher Education - Hired?, Ottawa, September 1980.

TABLE 17

RATIO OF FEMALE TO MALE EARNINGS, FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES, CANADA,  
1972 and 1978

<u>OCCUPATION*</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1978</u>
All occupations	54.6%	58.0%
Managerial	51.6	54.4
Professional	58.2	61.7
Clerical	63.9	66.6
Sales	39.4	43.7
Service	39.0	48.1
Processing and Machining	71.0	53.5
Product Fabricating	52.2	52.0
Transport and Communication	53.6	66.9

\* Sample was inadequate to estimate female earnings in Farming and Construction.

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Distribution By Size in  
Canada, Cat. 13-207, 1972 and 1978.

Male average earnings exceed female average earnings in all occupational groups, even those dominated by women. Table 17 shows the relationship between male and female earnings for eight occupational groups for the years 1972 and 1978. In occupations in processing and machining, the earnings position of women relative to men has actually deteriorated.

Using 1971 census data to identify the 23 largest female occupations at a more disaggregate level, Armstrong and Armstrong<sup>32</sup> show that in each occupation, men's earnings exceed those of women. Similar wage disparities are evident in the hourly and weekly wage rates collected by Labour Canada.<sup>33</sup> Data on wage rates by sex were collected for seventy similarly described occupations in particular industries. In only two cases did female wage rates exceed male wage rates for similar occupation in the same industry.<sup>34</sup> In the remaining sixty-eight occupations, male wage rates were higher than wage rates paid to women. In twenty-nine occupations, the disparity between female and male rates had actually increased from the level of the previous year.

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<sup>32</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, Table 9, p. 39.

<sup>33</sup> Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, 1977 Edition, Part II-Earnings of Women and Men, Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, Ottawa, 1979.

<sup>34</sup> These occupations were psychiatric attendant, hospital, and counter attendant, cafeteria.



The Women's Bureau, Labour Canada attempted to control for age and level of education in comparing incomes of male and female full-time, full-year workers in 147 selected occupations.<sup>35</sup> Even when these factors were taken into account, men's earnings exceeded those of women in 94.2% of the cases.

After accounting for male-female differences in the work year, occupational distribution, and experience and education, an unexplained differential between male and female wages persists. As Sylvia Ostry concluded, "it seems clear that some portion of the residual differential stemmed from 'discrimination', i.e. from the fact that women were paid less than men for comparable work."<sup>36</sup> Boyd and Humphreys have also found that

Sex differences in worker characteristics do not account for the income gap which exists between native born full time paid men and women....This income gap almost totally reflects sex differences in the utilization of income relevant characteristics, with women receiving lower returns to years in the labour force, and current occupational status.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Women in the Labour Force, Facts and Figures, 1975 Edition, Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, Ottawa, 1975. Tables 1-147, p. 83.

<sup>36</sup> Sylvia Ostry, The Female Worker in Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1968, p. 42.

<sup>37</sup> Monica Boyd and Elizabeth Humphreys, "Sex Differences in Canada: Incomes and Labour Markets", Reflections on Canadian Incomes, Economic Council of Canada, 1979, p. 410.

Ostry's estimate of a 15-22% earnings gap due to discrimination was based on male and female wages for comparable work without investigating the comparable worth of male and female jobs. As such, it represents only a minimum estimate of the wage gap. The undervaluing of work done by women is a factor which must also be considered.

— As Ruth Blumrosen has stated:

It has been well established that a division of labour between the sexes exists in every known society, that in every society the value put on the work reflects the status of those traditionally allocated that work, and that work identified with women is always considered less valuable than that done by men, regardless of its difficulty or contribution....Thus, the anthropological conclusion is that 'in a culture where men fish and women weave, it is axiomatic that whichever activity is assigned to the male is the activity with the greater prestige, power, status and rewards.' (K. Millett, Sexual Politics). The anthropologist Margaret Mead adds, 'One aspect of the social valuation of different types of labour is the differential prestige of men's activities and women's activities. Whatever men do-even if it is dressing dolls for religious ceremonies-is more prestigious than what women do and is treated as a higher achievement.' (M. Mead, Prehistory and the Woman)."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Blumrosen, p. 416.

UNIONIZATION

The degree of unionization among women workers is less than that of their male counterparts. In 1978, the 835,263 women union members represented 19.7% of all women in the labour force, compared to 31.2% of the male labour force that is unionized.<sup>39</sup> However, women's representation in organized labour has been rising rapidly. Between 1966 and 1976 the number of male union members increased by 40%, while the number of female union members increased by 160%.<sup>40</sup> In 1978, women comprised 28.7% of all union members in Canada.<sup>41</sup>

As White points out, most women have been drawn into the labour force to work in industries which have been expanding since the last world war, and which do not have a long

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<sup>39</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, Corporations and Labour Unions Return Act, Part II-Labour Unions, 1978, Cat. #71-202, Table XXV. p. 44. These statistics exclude unions with less than 100 workers. Labour Canada estimated that in 1977 only 2.6% of the total Canadian union membership fell into this category.

<sup>40</sup> Julie White, Women and Unions, The Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, Ottawa, April 1980, p. 26..

<sup>41</sup> Statistics Canada, Corporations and Labour Unions Return Act, Part II-Labour Unions, 1978, p.23.

history of union activity, including public administration, trade, finance and services.<sup>42</sup> As Table 18 indicates, the industries in which women are concentrated generally are not highly unionized.

While women are still underrepresented on union executives, the situation has improved. In 1970 women formed 9.8% of all members on union executive boards; in 1978 they were 17.5% of all members on union executive boards.<sup>43</sup>

Patterns of unionization by province differ for men and women. As Table 19 indicates, Quebec has the greatest degree of unionization of the female labour force, followed by New Brunswick, British Columbia and Newfoundland. Within the male labour force, the highest degree of unionization occurs in British Columbia, followed by Newfoundland and New Brunswick.

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<sup>42</sup> White, p. 50.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 23.

TABLE 18

PROPORTION OF WOMEN WORKERS AND DEGREE OF UNIONIZATION BY  
INDUSTRY, CANADA, JANUARY, 1977

<u>INDUSTRY</u>	<u>% OF EMPLOYMENT WHICH IS FEMALE</u>	<u>% OF ALL WORKERS UNIONIZED</u>
Community, Business & Personal Services	59.5%	29.0%
Finance	57.3	1.5
Trade	40.0	7.9
Public Administration	32.5	65.8
Manufacturing	25.0	46.0
Agriculture	25.0	0.6
Transportation	19.3	53.7
Other Primary	7.9	41.3
Construction	7.4	47.9
All Industries	37.5%	32.1%

Source: Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-78, Cat. 71-529, Table 16, and Women's Bureau, Labour Canada, Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, 1977 Edition, Part III, Table 1.



TABLE 19

UNIONIZATION BY SEX AND PROVINCE, 1977

<u>PROVINCE</u>	UNION MEMBERS AS PERCENTAGE OF PAID WORKERS	
	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>MALE</u>
Quebec	33.0%	40.1%
New Brunswick	31.0	43.7
British Columbia	30.8	54.7
Newfoundland	30.3	50.4
Saskatchewan	29.1	33.3
Manitoba	28.8	39.3
Prince Edward Island	27.3	27.7
Nova Scotia	27.0	40.5
Ontario	22.0	40.6
Alberta	20.4	29.9

Source: Women's Bureau, Labour Canada Women in the Labour Force: Facts and Figures, 1977 edition, Part III, Table 3.

The dramatic increase in female participation in paid economic activity and the consequent increase in multi-earner families, has given rise to a policy debate of great importance to women. The basis of the debate lies in the question of whether (or to what extent) pooling individual risks into a family unit by considering the family, (rather than the individual) should be adopted as the basis of social policy. While this debate has not yet received much public attention, the implications for the economic status of women appear enormous. Put simply, the argument can be reduced to the conflict between inter-family equality and intra-family equality. Feminists have not yet dealt in detail with this thorny issue.<sup>44</sup>

As the number of multiple-earner families increases, using the individual as the unit for transfer payments can contribute to increasing inequality between families. The redistributive aspect of transfer payments means that they are intended for lower-income groups rather than higher-income groups. However, reducing inter-family inequality may well be at the expense of intra-family equity.

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<sup>44</sup> Margrit Eichler has begun to examine the family income concept from a feminist perspective. See "Towards A Policy for Families in Canada" by Margrit Eichler, unpublished paper prepared for Status of Women Canada, December 1979. Part of this paper has been reprinted in Status of Women, Vol. 6, No. 2, Spring 1980, published by the National Action Committee on the Status of Women.

Consider the Unemployment Insurance program as an example.

Under a family income-based policy, payment of benefits to unemployed workers would depend on the level of income in the family. In the case of a family with both spouses in the labour force, an unemployed husband could collect U.I. benefits only if the level of his wife's earnings fell below some particular level. If the wife's income was above this limit, the husband would collect pro-rated benefits or no benefits, depending on the configuration of the particular scheme. The situation would operate in reverse for an unemployed wife and an employed husband.

But, in fact, such a reversal would not really occur. The high unemployment rate for women, particularly married women, would guarantee that the wife would more often be the unemployed spouse. The wage disparity between average incomes of men and women would mean that family income would remain higher when the wife is unemployed than when the husband is unemployed. The result: wives will have a greater chance of being unemployed and also a greater chance of receiving zero or pro-rated U.I. benefits when they do become unemployed.

In support of this conclusion, a simulation of a family income based U.I. plan revealed that "the benefit reductions are overwhelmingly concentrated on wives in middle and upper-middle income families."<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Eden Cloutier and Alister Smith, "The Evaluation of an Alternative Unemployment Insurance Plan," Discussion Paper No.159, Economic Council of Canada, February, 1979.

The concept of equity underlying this scheme is that the family, rather than the individual, is the basic economic unit. Eligibility for transfer payments is thus determined by an individual's position in a family and, more particularly, by her relationship to other income earners in the family.

The concept of "family income" is, in fact, an artificial construct. While a certain amount of sharing takes place within a family unit (to provide food and shelter, for instance) there is no guarantee that control over family income and assets is shared between spouses. Such sharing is guaranteed in some provinces only upon marriage breakdown. Settlement disputes in divorce cases indicate that the concept of shared control over income and assets within a family unit is not a common reality.

The concept of using the family as the basic unit for income tax has been generally opposed by feminists precisely because of the fallacy of the family income construct.<sup>46</sup> While the same arguments apply to using the family as the unit for social security, the implications for inter-family equity has caused some writers to adopt the view that tax and social security units should differ - the individual as the unit for taxation, the family as the unit for social security.

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<sup>46</sup> See "Joint Taxation of Spouses - A Feminist View" by Louise Dulude, in Canadian Taxation, Winter, 1979.

Our labour market does not relate income to an individual's family size and needs. To apply this principle to transfer payments will ensure, given the inferior income position of women relative to men, that equity within the family unit will suffer. Enforced economic dependence, upon another family income earner (usually the husband) will have adverse effects on the ability of women to become economic equals. As the National Council of Welfare has stated:

Most Canadian women become poor at some point in their lives. Their poverty is rarely the result of controllable circumstances, and it is seldom the outcome of extraordinary misfortune. In most cases, women are poor because poverty is a natural consequence of the role they are still expected to play in our society.<sup>47</sup>

Until women face the same opportunities as men for jobs and pay, their disadvantaged position in the labour market will mean harsher treatment of women under a family income system. A remedy to this harsher impact could be found in complete sharing of income and assets within the family, a goal that seems a long way from actual practice. While the opposition to a family income principle may seem irrelevant for families where discretionary income is very low or non-existent, there are many situations in which transfer payments are made to families above the poverty line.

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<sup>47</sup> National Council of Welfare, p. 51.



The challenge for feminists is to develop an alternative principle, or sets of principles, which will accomplish goals of redistribution while also increasing economic equality between wife and husband, women and men. Failure to do this will certainly result in the adoption by the government of family income as a basis for social policy at the expense of increasing equity within the family.

Another area which requires close scrutiny is the movement of women into non-traditional occupations. The 1981 Census will provide detailed data on occupational distribution by sex. These data should be closely analysed to identify movements of women into male-dominated jobs and to question why changes are occurring. Increasing female penetration may, in fact, have negative connotations depending on whether the increasing representation of females is a result of men leaving the occupation or occurs in tandem with increased male employment. It is likely that occupations in which female penetration is increasing at the same time that male employment is declining are precursors to new female job ghettos.

The movement of women into non-traditional jobs should not be viewed as a panacea for the inferior employment position of women. It is likely that the same forces which work to segregate women into a relatively few occupations with low pay and little upward mobility in traditional female areas will surface in non-traditional jobs as well.

Information is also sparse on a very important aspect of female employment, namely the situation of women working part-time. Statistics Canada does not provide a satisfactory measure of the degree of "voluntariness" involved in taking a part-time job, as has been discussed. In addition, little information is available on the nature of work patterns other than full-time. How many part-time workers are regular part-time workers and how many are casual and enter and leave the labour force frequently? Are alternate work patterns, such as work sharing, popular and available? To what extent are these employment patterns subject to exploitation by employers through non-payment of benefits, etc? These questions will assume increased importance as part-time employment continues its rapid growth.

Little is known about the position of "doubly disadvantaged" women within the labour market. Systematic and detailed information on the employment position of handicapped and native women is almost non-existent. These women face problems based not only on their sex but also on their race or handicap and occupy positions at the bottom of the employment ladder. Available data indicate that disabled women face higher unemployment rates than disabled men and receive lower incomes. Physically disabled women suffer more from the stigma of disfiguration than do men due to the high value placed by society on female beauty. The incorrect assumption that men must support themselves and that women will always have someone

to support them reinforces the double disadvantage of handicapped women since their need for rehabilitation for gainful employment is not always recognized.

Native women are similarly doubly disadvantaged. Information on their economic and employment situation is limited but the sparse data which exist indicate that native women are worse off economically than both native men and Canadian women.

One of the single largest factors to influence the employment of women over the next few decades will likely be the "microelectronics revolution", the rapid succession of innovations in information technology. The debate on the existence and size of employment dislocation and job loss which will result from these technological developments has not been resolved.<sup>48</sup> However, a recent report from the Science Council of Canada concluded that:

...there is general agreement that there will be widespread structural unemployment and an even greater sector of permanently unemployed. Those most likely to be affected are older workers and women.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> See Z. P. Zeman, The Impacts of Computer/Communications on Employment in Canada: An Overview of Current O.E.C.D. Debates, Institute For Research on Public Policy, Montreal, November, 1979.

<sup>49</sup> Science Council of Canada, The Impact of the Microelectronics Revolution on Work and Working, Proceedings of a workshop sponsored by the Science Council of Canada Committee on Computers and Communications, Ottawa, July, 1980, p. 65.

In addition to the spectre of increased unemployment, it is likely that the computer-communications revolution will produce significant changes in the structure of jobs. Various scenarios have predicted the deskilling of the secretarial function into a machine operator function and a reduction in middle managers. The work force may evolve into a state where there are low-end jobs and high-end jobs and little bridging or mobility between low and high.

Our understanding of the ultimate impact of these technological developments on the labour force position of women is not yet clear. While further evidence on employment impact might have to await the passage of time, the potential impact on skills and jobs can be examined in more detail.

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III

TOWARD SOME NEW EMPHASES IN EMPIRICAL RESEARCH  
ON WOMEN AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE

Michael L. Skolnik





AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE ON  
WOMEN AND LABOUR FORCE STATISTICS

The statistical foundation for empirical study of women and the labour force has been the Labour Force - Employment - Unemployment categorization utilized by national statistics agencies in the Western industrialized countries - and increasingly in the Third World as well. This statistical framework has to date provided the principal categories for conceptualizing and organizing the work experience of women.

These categories precede, rather than follow from, detailed description of the work experience of women and reflection upon such description. The categories were developed for the purpose of monitoring cyclical trends in national economic performance. Particularly since 1973 in Canada there has been substantial controversy as to the effectiveness of statistics based upon these categories as instruments for national economic monitoring. There is no a priori basis for supposing that these categories will provide a useful framework for examining matters related to women and work, or even that they won't introduce distortions into such examination.

My own view is that using conventional labour force statistics to study the issues to which this Workshop is addressed is like eating soup with a fork. You may trap a few tasty morsels, but the main stream will slip away. In this paper I attempt both to trap a few morsels and to suggest some directions where we might look for more nourishment.

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The empirical study of "women and the labour force" is an essentially policy oriented pursuit. While it does not offer the same aesthetic satisfactions as say, the study of classical Grecian sculpture or of Gregorian music, it does offer other satisfactions, not the least of which is the prospect of being able to confirm statistically what theory suggests and what nearly any casual observer notices - that, compared to men, women get a raw deal in the labour force. However, except for those whose interests in worldly phenomena never go beyond counting (like the government officials in Heinrich Böll's story, "Der Zähler"<sup>1</sup>), this type of satisfaction is likely to be short-lived. The eventual boredom of being confronted with basically the same numerical characterizations of labour market discrimination against women must inevitably give rise to depression, anger, resignation, apathy or some other unsatisfying state of mind.

There are two directions in which analyses of women and the labour force might move in order for such studies to provide more intellectual pleasure than pain. One is the direction of policy analysis. This consists of deriving policy implications from data-based labour market analysis, including the use of such data to test alternative policy proposals. The other is to develop increasingly sophisticated analyses of the underlying social, psychological, political, and economic forces which give rise to the observed patterns. For simplicity we may refer to these three facets of study as underlying forces<sup>2</sup>; observed patterns; and policy proposals.

As a Labour and Human Resource economist, my initial acquaintance with the general topic of Women and The Canadian Labour Force was through the second category, analysis of empirical evidence

on women in the labour force<sup>3</sup>. It was natural for me then to study the link between empirical studies of the labour force and the third category - policy proposals. I have since observed that much of contemporary writing on policy proposals stands on its own, and, in fact, for the most part the literature on women and the labour force looks like three separate sets of literature. Writings in the first category - that of underlying forces - are easily the most interesting of the three and most strenuous exercise for the mind, but unfortunately it has not been linked up very well with the other two categories. This separation of the first category from the other two helps to explain why so much of the work on observed patterns seems so arid and why so much of the work on policy proposals seems so ad hominum.

The neglect of consideration of underlying forces in devising policies to ameliorate social ills is not unique to the issues of women and the labour force. We need only look to the cliché example of traffic planning. The solution to traffic congestion that frequently is advocated without any consideration of underlying forces (except for those who regard the observation that there are too many cars for the existing road space as identification of underlying forces) is to spend billions of dollars building more and bigger roads. After a short time this strategy usually leads to more and bigger traffic jams. Alternatively, one might ask why everyone wants to get to the same place at the same time<sup>4</sup>, and try to alter those underlying factors. Or take the example of crime. It is becoming increasingly clear that crime has not been reduced by expanding police forces, establishing huge national (and international) computerized information systems, increasing the numbers of judges and



prosecutors, and building more and bigger prisons - especially when the budgets for these programs compete directly with those for education, welfare, mass-transit, housing, and job training and counselling. Examples such as these should be sufficient to make us realize that if there is something fundamentally wrong with the way that work is organized<sup>5</sup> and, particularly, the way in which what we call work is institutionally compartmentalized from what we call non-work, then simply (although even that isn't simply) getting more women into what are now men's jobs won't necessarily solve the work related problems of women (though it would give women a greater share of both the satisfactions and dissatisfactions of men's work).

Whether or not one accepts the view that analysis of underlying forces must become a more integral part of any attempts to derive policy proposals from analyses of observed patterns, it would appear that the policy-oriented study of women and the labour force is at an important cross-roads for several reasons, reasons which range from the mundane to the spiritual. In this paper, I will concentrate mainly on the most mundane reason, that is the not insignificant fact that the relevant data which are accessible at a reasonable cost have nearly been used up. After a decade of mining and manipulating all the data which Statistics Canada and Labour Canada provide, we are running out of interesting permutations of labour force participation, unemployment, and wage rate figures<sup>6</sup>. The basic patterns of wage and unemployment differentials between women and men and of occupational segregation by sex were well established several years ago, and have not changed much lately - except that, for Ontario at least, the unemployment and wage differentials between women and men widened through the 1970's; and the

prevalence of occupational segregation appeared to diminish slightly (more on that below).

While the significance of these figures might have been dismissed by governments in the early 1970's, hiding behind a 'secondary worker' argument, impressive data has been produced to debunk that myth. Particularly, Women's Bureaus across Canada have taken a lead in publicizing data which show that something in the order of two-thirds of working women are single, widowed, divorced, separated or have husbands who earn less than \$12,000. Or looked at another way, the forty per cent of working women who are not married presumably have the same sorts of economic needs as men, and wife's earnings are essential for at least half of the sixty per cent which are married<sup>7</sup>. Such data have been effective in bringing about an appreciation that the vast majority of working women work, to paraphrase Carolyn Bird (Two Paycheck Marriage), for essentially the same reasons as men. Indeed, the attack on the concept of secondary earner has been a complete rout, as the phrase is no longer heard in polite discourse.

While closing in on the limits of interesting analysis of existing macro-labour force data, we have not quite reached those limits. The monitoring and closer examination of labour market data could yield some additional interesting findings or perspectives. For example, it is widely reported that women's share of total unemployment in Canada has increased relentlessly in yearly increments from about 32 per cent in 1966 to over 46 per cent in 1979. With this trend, it should not be too long before there are more unemployed women than unemployed men. In fact, this ignominious milestone may be just now reached in Ontario, where for most months in the second half of 1979, females comprised more than 50 per cent of the



unemployed even though they accounted for only about 40 per cent of the labour force<sup>8</sup>.

Another aspect of measured unemployment which merits closer attention is the comparison of female unemployment to youth unemployment. Governments in Canada have been obsessed with youth unemployment for the past decade, and have established a variety of special programs targetted at youth unemployment. It is likely that during the first few years of the 1980's, the female unemployment rate will overtake the youth unemployment rate. In Ontario, the numbers of unemployed females exceeded the numbers of unemployed youth during the latter part of 1979, and the difference between the youth unemployment rate and the (lower) female unemployment rate narrowed. During the first half of the 1980's the number of youth in the labour force is projected to remain about the same or decrease slightly, while the number of females in the labour force is expected to increase by about two hundred thousand<sup>9</sup>. It is a good question as to whether governments in Canada will show the same concern for female unemployment in the 1980's as they showed for youth unemployment in the 1970's. Some say that underlying the attention which governments have given to youth unemployment was a fear of revolution. Will governments have a similar fear about females?

One aspect of female unemployment which has gone unremarked is the striking difference between the unemployment rate of female heads of families and male heads of families. In Ontario, the unemployment rate of male heads of families tends to be substantially lower than the overall unemployment rate for males, while the unemployment rate for female heads of families tends to be substantially higher than the overall rate for

females. For example, in October, 1979, the unemployment rates in Ontario were (in percentages) 12.1 for female heads of families, 2.7 for male heads of families, 7.8 for all females, and 4.7 for all males. The cell size for unemployed heads of families by sex in the Labour Force Survey is relatively small, so these figures may not be highly reliable<sup>10</sup>. The suggestion that those females who have the greatest economic need may have the highest unemployment rate certainly warrants further monitoring and analysis. It may well be that for the same reasons that these women cannot afford to be choosy about the jobs they take, employers reject them as being too risky.

The above examples indicate a few areas where continued monitoring of existing data sources could produce some additional insights into the situation of women in the labour force. There are two important areas of research on women and the labour force where existing data sources are completely inadequate and little additional analysis can be done without substantially improved data sources. One has to do with the relationship between fertility and labour force status, the other with occupational segregation.

The relationship between fertility and labour force status has been a subject of great interest in the study of women and labour force, because childbearing and childrearing is believed to be an important determinant of the labour force experience of women. Also, this relationship is generally viewed as having important implications for public policy toward child care. Given the importance of this relationship, it is surprising that so little has been done in the way of developing relevant data for studying it. No time series data on this relationship are collected in Canada, and the only recent data which

I have been able to locate are a comparison of figures for two points in time (1976 and 1971) given in a recent paper prepared in the Canada Department of Finance<sup>11</sup>. These data show that in 1976 the participation rate for Canadian women aged 35 - 44 was 66% for those who did not have children present, 54% for those with only children over six years of age, and 36% for those with only children under six. While these figures suggest an inhibiting effect of child rearing upon labour force participation, the greatest increases in labour force participation between 1971 and 1976 were for women with children: a 41% increase for women with children under six and 21% for women with children over six, compared to 10% overall. With such a paucity of data, it is impossible to test more sophisticated theories about the way in which decisions about childbearing and about labour force participation interact a larger context of decisions about lifestyles, or life-stages planning, rather than being simply related to one another in a cause-and-effect chain (and even then, it's not obvious which is cause and which is effect). For purposes of informing the discussion of public policy toward child care, such fragmentary data are not very useful. They suggest that in the face of clearly inadequate publicly subsidized day care facilities (about 15 - 20 thousand publicly subsidized spaces and over two hundred thousand working mothers), women with children are showing a remarkable increase in the propensity to enter the labour force. These data do not however enable us to ascertain, for example, the extent to which inadequate day care facilities ensure that even though mothers of young children may enter the labour force, they are likely to be unemployed or in the lowest paying, least secure jobs, or suffer the most stress related to combining home and market place responsibilities.



The other major deficiency in data related to women and the labour force pertains to occupational distribution and earnings at a disaggregated, "job", level. The only reasonably comprehensive picture of male and female occupational distributions that we have is from the census, and it is a long time between censuses (particularly for those waiting anxiously to compare figures from the last census with those of the next). A lot of interesting analyses have been done on 1971 census data - for example, showing that of the 14 occupational categories which had the highest earnings of the approximately 400 listed, no (or too few to report) women were present in six. These were judges and magistrates, management in the natural sciences and engineering, optometrists, members of legislative bodies, osteopaths and chiropractors, and veterinarians<sup>12</sup>. Women accounted for 7% or less of the employees in six of the other categories, and 12 - 15% in the other two categories.

Apart from waiting for 1981 census data (which may not be until 1984, if processing occupational data from the 1971 census is a guide), the only place to look for evidence of changes in occupational distribution is the Statistics Canada Monthly Report on major occupational groupings. The value of this data source is severely limited by the high level of aggregation - at the provincial level there are only nine occupational groups reported - and consequent heterogeneity of the categories. What, for example, can be inferred from the fact that in Ontario between 1976 and 1979, the proportion of females who were in the clerical group decreased slightly (to still over 34%) while the proportion in the managerial and administrative group increased slightly (to 23%)? The managerial and administrative category is so broad that the

increased incidence of females in this category might not imply any improvement in the quality of jobs held by females at all. There is some general evidence that as occupations change from being predominantly male to predominantly female, they decline in relative pay and prestige (e.g. secretaries in the West and physicians in the Soviet Union). In the specific case of managerial and administrative occupations, the average earnings of females in this group in 1976 was 53.1% of that of males, as compared to 53.5% for all occupations, suggesting that the observed movement of females into what Statistics Canada calls managerial and administrative occupations is not exactly the harbinger of a new era.

Since occupation is one of the major determinants of earnings, data on earnings differentials between males and females cannot be any better than the data that are available on occupational distributions. In fact earnings data are a good deal worse. The best source of occupation data, the census, does not report rates of pay at all, only annual earnings, which together with some broad categories of weeks worked per year and normal hours worked per week prevent making any useful estimates of rates of pay. For purposes of "explaining" differences in annual earnings between males and females, census data enable us to isolate the effects of differences in weeks worked per year, normal hours per week, age, education, and other personal variables - but not employment related variables such as seniority, amount of overtime worked, bonuses, existence and type of union representation, method (if any) of job evaluation, etc. The Statistics Canada annual data on earnings by major occupational groups permit almost no such analysis of sex related earnings differentials, because data



on the related personal and establishment factors are not included. Labour Canada produces data on wage rates for selected occupations (such as psychiatric attendant or stock records clerk) in selected cities which permits comparison of sex-based wage differentials with variation in establishment characteristics such as size of establishment and existence of a union. (In most occupations reported, differentials are less in larger establishments and in unionized establishments.) However, the Labour Canada surveys do not include data on worker specific variables like age, education or seniority; and there are some sampling problems in using this data source for time series analysis.

In short, there is no comprehensive time series data in Canada on sex-related wage rate differentials by specific occupation, and cross-section data (at any point in time) for analysing correlates of sex-related earnings differentials are extremely limited. The latter limitation has not prevented the production of several studies which have attempted to "explain" over-all earnings differentials between males and females<sup>13</sup>. In general, these studies have shown a large and persistent earnings gap (usually 10 - 20 per cent) which cannot be explained by any of the independent variables tested. Such findings, however, can be highly misleading (depending upon how carefully they are presented), because of the implicit (indeed, insidious) assumption that only the "unexplained" portion of earnings differential is evidence of labour market discrimination. In fact, many of the control variables themselves may represent even greater sources of discrimination against females - e.g. differences in numbers of weeks worked, numbers of hours worked per week, occupational category, seniority, and unionization.

The fact that on average women in Canada earn less than 60 per cent of what men earn is probably more important to keep in mind than how much of the remaining 40 per cent or more is correlated with various personal and work place characteristics.

The limitations of data on occupational wage rate differentials between males and females at one time appeared to retard public debate of proposals for legislation on equal pay for work of equal value, one of the major areas of current debate in Canada over policies relating to women and the labour force. Until the late 1970's the response of most opponents of such legislation was to say that more data were needed before equal value proposals could be considered. In Ontario, the publication by the Ministry of Labour of its Discussion Paper on Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value (1976) appeared to turn the debate away from data. If the Discussion Paper accomplished this feat, it was not by presenting data that gave satisfactory answers to the major questions surrounding equal value legislation, for no such data exist. Rather, the feat was accomplished through an exhaustive examination of all existing wage differential data that was indirectly, remotely, or not at all relevant to equal pay for work of equal value. Apart from re-iterating the fact of a large and growing sex differential in earnings, this exercise made clear to the discerning critic that no conceivable amount of data on current and historical wage differentials would shed much light on questions about what effects equal pay for work of equal value legislation would have. At the same time, the exercise left the undiscerning critic unable to criticize proposals for equal value legislation as lacking a background of hard data. As so often is the case with social policy proposals, background data are needed to make them look respectable even if the data are largely irrelevant to the decisions.

Thus, the debate on equal pay for work of equal value has - as the recent Hearings on Bill 3 in Ontario showed - moved on to concentration upon issues such as "Who would determine value?" and "How would it be administered?"<sup>14</sup> Interest in labour market data in this debate now seems, appropriately, to go only as far as accepting that macroscopic indicators (like the Statistics Canada figures on annual earnings by sex) have established conclusively that females are seriously disadvantaged compared to males. Analysis of labour market data will not likely play a very important role in determining whether equal pay for work of equal value legislation will be adopted across Canada. This is not because of a disdain for empirical analysis, but because, in typical Catch-22 fashion, the only data which would be useful in predicting the effects of such legislation are those which would be collected as a by-product of its implementation. Similarly, the only way that I can conceive of obtaining the micro-level data on occupational employment by sex that would enable us to pinpoint improvements (or lack thereof) in the advancement of women in the labour force would be as a by-product of the implementation of affirmative action or contract compliance programs. Regular labour market surveys (none of which are designed for the purposes which we are discussing here) have been too blunt, too infrequent, and too general. Were that not bad enough, large-scale surveys have been quite prone to the axe of government spending restraint. We may even lose some of the survey data that we now take for granted, just as we lost the Statcan Occupational Employment Survey (which could have been ideal for studying changes in occupational distribution by sex) before it was fully developed, and the Job Vacancy Survey (which probably disappeared as much for political as financial reasons - the scarcity of vacancies was getting to be an embarrassment).



In summary, it appears that the raw material for policy-oriented research on women and the labour force on a national scale has serious limitations which are as likely to get worse as to be ameliorated in the near future. Most of what could be done with existing data sources that is intriguing, entertaining, or useful has been done. Analysis of data on women and the labour force does not seem at all useful in addressing one of the major policy issues of the day - equal pay for work of equal value. Nor can existing labour force data show, except in the most general terms, where affirmative action programs are needed most. The availability of 1981 census data will provide some temporary respite, and there are, perhaps, a few instances, as identified earlier in this paper, where a bit more could be plucked from the Labour Force Survey data. Other than that, the conventional literature of data-based, policy-oriented research on women and the labour force shows the signs of having reached a climacteric. Communications theorists advise that after a while repeating the same message over and over does not increase the probability that it will be comprehended, it only increases the noise in the system. Insofar as the goal of policy oriented research on women and the labour force is to influence policy decisions, some new styles of and approaches to communication about women and the labour force will be needed.

While this paper is concerned primarily with the data related aspects of the need for some new directions in research on women and the labour force, I would like to address briefly two other reasons why I believe that some new directions are needed for this area of research. The first of these is the growing disenchantment about the role of big government in North America. Polls show that more and more people are

doubtful about the effectiveness of big government to perform effectively the functions which it has now, let alone take on additional functions. Yet implicit in the research on women and the labour force is the expectation that analysis will result in the development and implementation of policy at either the provincial or federal level. It is probably the image of a large and expensive government bureaucracy creating reams of paperwork that has been the major factor holding back legislation on equal pay for work of equal value, affirmative action, and contract compliance in Canada. To say that programs which vest in a bureaucracy substantial authority for complex administration are not popular today is an understatement, but at the same time a fact to be reckoned with. The wave of new occupational health and safety legislation which swept Canada in the last four years of the 1970's was a notable exception which probably got in just under the wire of public discontent with centralized bureaucracy. Even then, this legislation had going for it the promise that much of its thrust would be through self-regulation by employers and unions, thus hopefully avoiding the infamy of the OSHA experience in the United States, where the U.S. Government Accounting Office has estimated that it will take OSHA more than a century to regulate just those substances already identified as hazardous.

Not only is there a growing scepticism about government's ability to solve social problems - rather than aggravate them - but there is spreading doubt as to whether major social problems can be solved at all. Try, for example, to find consensus among economists on how the simultaneous inflation and unemployment that grips Western societies could be brought under control. There is probably no time in at least fifty



years when there has been less confidence among economists and other social scientists concerned with problems such as inflation and unemployment that their disciplines could provide useful guidance for developing appropriate social remedies<sup>15</sup>.

In fact, it would appear that the major social changes which have occurred in the last decade or two have not at all been the result of government policy initiatives - and frequently they have gone against government policy (the most dramatic example of the latter being a policy of war in the United States which spawned an unprecedented anti-war movement). The consumer movement has grown into a force to be reckoned with, as people at the grass roots have realized that business will not regulate itself, and government cannot regulate it. Extraordinary changes in sexual mores have taken place, with governments fighting a (excuse the term) rear-guard action most of the way. Millions of people have opted out of the stultifying effects of life in corporate or government bureaucracies and gone back to the land, to the underground economy, or to other forms of what has become known as life-styles of "Voluntary Simplicity". A huge back-to-nature spirit has developed, encompassing activities from a highly politicized environmental movement to a burgeoning health food industry, to great increases in camping, jogging, and attendance at parks which far outstrip increases in (sedentary) attendance at sporting events. A sharp decline in allegiance to national and other distant political entities has resulted in the worldwide rise of regional or ethnic separatist movements, and within large cities there has been an extraordinary growth of neighborhood and block associations.

These examples are not intended to imply that government action to improve the situation of women in the work force is not needed, or should be eschewed. They do suggest, however, that insofar as the world of work does not meet women's needs or provide employment satisfaction to women, some substantial changes that do not show up in aggregate labour statistics are probably occurring at the grass-roots, and it would be useful to examine the grass roots and see what types of changes are occurring. What we call policy development might constructively focus more upon identifying useful changes which are already beginning to occur and look for ways of supporting such changes or removing obstacles to them - like legislation governing public access to information has tended to strengthen the consumer and environmental movements.

A third factor which merits more attention in studying women and the labour force is the recognition that at a certain level, there is an inter-relatedness among many diverse social ills. Take a random list of what are presented in the media and best-selling nonfiction as today's crises - irrevocable pollution of the atmosphere and oceans, nuclear technology out of control, increasing violence, alcoholism and drug addiction, unemployment, energy insecurity, worker alienation, racism to name just a few. Such evils are too numerous and too serious to make the establishing of priorities among them very prudent or plausible. Not surprisingly, however, it is likely that many of these problems reflect the same underlying forces. For example, individual feelings of helplessness and despair that find outlets in alcohol, drugs, and suicide on the one hand, and destruction of the environment, on the other, have much to do with the ascendancy of a large, impersonal, and destructive

technology which makes work oppressive and is totally out of harmony with our natural ecology. Yet, technology is not neutral; 'political and economic systems select out of the range of current technology those artifacts which will satisfy their particular ends'. As Kirkpatrick Sale goes on to say in his book Human Scale, 'in an age of high authoritarianism and bureaucratic control in both governmental and corporate realms, the dominant technology tends to reinforce those characteristics - ours is not an age of the assembly line and the nuclear plant by accident'.<sup>16</sup> In turn, it is possible to find a link between the authoritarian use of destructive technology and pervasive sexism, drawing upon what Dinerstein<sup>17</sup> calls the 'old insight' that there is a connection between 'the universal exploitation of women and the survival of an atmosphere in which the idea of exploitation in general remains acceptable'. The development of this insight includes an appreciation of the inseparability of the notion of an inherently inexhaustible Mother Earth from which it is justifiable to extract treasures in any way possible and the notion of woman as an Earth Mother who is 'not human enough to have needs of an importance as primary, as self-evident, as the importance of our own needs' (like, one might add, women's needs for decent jobs as compared to men's). Dinerstein's contention is that the destructive infantilism of our relation to nature (as well as numerous other malaises) is directly a function of our child rearing arrangements, namely the exclusive role played by women as early parental figures; and that both the universal exploitation of women and the exploitation of nature will go on until a balance is established between men and women in the role of first parent. It is interesting to note the difference in depth of analysis and range of social implications considered between Dinerstein's (underlying forces)

perspective on sharing of child rearing responsibilities and that of the other two categories of writing on women and the labour force, which view the sharing of child rearing responsibilities basically as a means to facilitating greater equality of labour force opportunity between men and women.

Dinerstein's thesis is certainly contentious, and my purpose here is not to defend it, or to present a total social system theory in which sexism is connected to all other social phenomena. Rather, it is to illustrate one direction of thought which would bring out a connection between sex discrimination in the labour market and several other social problems.<sup>18</sup> This type of connection has some implications for determining new emphases in research on women and the labour force to which I will return in the concluding comments below.

#### Concluding Comments: A Few Suggestions for New Emphases in Research on Women and the Labour Market

Here I would like to pull out from the discussion above and amplify briefly three suggestions for new emphases in research on women and the Canadian Labour Force.

First, I believe that we need to learn more about the actual experience of women in the labour force today than unemployment and participation rate statistics could ever reveal. In the past decade or two there has been a substantial output of quality work on women in Canadian History which has given us a picture of the daily lives of women in the community, home, and workplace of the past. Far less attention seems to be given to studying the work experience of women in the present - a terrain which the academic community appears to be leaving to the journalist.



One direction which might be given more emphasis in the study of women and the Canadian Labour Force is that of detailed description of women's experience in typical and new work settings<sup>19</sup>. It would be particularly interesting to see what changes might be occurring in the workplace as a result of the increasing participation of women. For example, where women have moved into 'non-traditional jobs', it would be valuable to study changes which might have occurred in the way these jobs are performed, the reaction of employers and male workers and the effect upon relations between the sexes in the workplace, and the impact of such non-incremental changes in women's vocational lives on their home, personal lives, and self-images. To take another example, in which the appropriate methodology would go well beyond direct observation, suppose that we could find a few business firms in which the principal decision-making positions are held by women. It would be interesting to see if there are any observable quality of work life differences or differences in dominant organizational styles and values, between such firms and otherwise comparable firms run predominantly by males<sup>20</sup>.

Second, I think that more emphasis needs to be given to the relationship between paid employment and outside-of-work life. Except associated with very limited attempts to consider the presence of children as an inhibitor of female labour force participation, most empirical studies of women and the labour force treat as exogenous any states other than those of employment or unemployment. In so doing these studies follow a well established tradition of compartmentalizing human (male) activity into different spheres and ignoring the connections between spheres. Whatever the scientific advantages of such compartmentalization may be when studying male labour force behaviour, the advantages are certain to be less when studying female



labour force behaviour. The reason for this is that females do not have the same freedom as males to compartmentalize their vocational lives from their "other" lives, nor do they get the same rewards from effectively doing so as males.<sup>21</sup> The female's ever-present concern about integration of paid employment with home and personal life is perhaps one of the most important features distinguishing female from male labour force experience. If we are interested in research on women and the labour force, not just, on the labour force, this integration has to be a central focus of research.

Third, I'd like to return to the comments made earlier about the inter-relatedness at a level of underlying forces of a number of major social issues of which sexism in the labour market is one. I believe that if we are going to make head way in dealing with issues like environmental destruction, degradation of work, economic instability and so on, we will have to come to a greater appreciation of the commonality of the forces which shape these problems. This, in turn, requires that some of the research on at least some of these specific issues treat the consideration of the inter-relationships with other leading issues as a central rather than a tangential question. There is perhaps no single issue that is as fundamental to the problems of the latter half of the twentieth century as the universal and pervasive subjugation of women. This is likely what the eminent student of the labour market, Eli Ginzburg, had in mind when he expressed the opinion that the trend toward greater economic independence of women is the most important social phenomenon of the twentieth century. Ginzburg noted further that the broad social implications of this phenomenon are uncharted. We need to start charting them.

NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>A clever story in which a double amputee war veteran is shunted into a 'make-work' job of counting passers-by on a bridge. The counter gets some "counter-satisfaction" by completely fabricating the numbers he gives to bridge officials in a way that tantalizes, confuses, and generally controls their weekly emotional states on the day the figures are reported. This story should, of course, be prohibited reading for anyone who produces labour statistics.
- <sup>2</sup>The term "underlying forces" would sound mystical, or at least presumptuous, were there not so many good examples of fundamental analyses of forces underlying the subjugation of women, e.g. Dorothy Dinerstein's The Mermaid and the Minotaur: Sexual Arrangements and Human Malaise, Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1977; or Dorothy Smith's discussion of "Women, Class, and Family" prepared for this Workshop.
- <sup>3</sup>In fact, I got interested in the subject of women and the labour force through trying to explain the early 1970's "Paradox of Unemployment and Job Vacancies" (Industrial Relations, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1976) when I discovered the incapability of the system to make use of an untrained youth and female labour supply during a sharp upturn in the economy to be a major factor explaining what was then regarded as a paradox. I have since learned to regard it as a predictable state of affairs rather than a paradox.
- <sup>4</sup>Or whether as Barbara Ward (Home of Man) suggests, it makes more sense to bring the facilities to the people.

- <sup>5</sup>A critique of work in industrial society, is as the saying goes, beyond the scope of this paper. For a refreshing look at this subject see the posthumously published book by E. F. Schumacher called simply Good Work, Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1979. With typical Schumacher simplicity and humility, he goes beyond whining about assembly lines and states that the purposes of human work are: (1) to provide necessary and useful goods and services; (2) to enable every one of us to use and thereby perfect our gifts like good stewards; and (3) to do so in service to, and in cooperation with others, so as to liberate ourselves from our inborn egocentricity.
- <sup>6</sup>Which is not to deny the substantial contribution of those who have perfected the art of descriptive analysis and presentation of such labour force data.
- <sup>7</sup>An interesting variant on the secondary worker question are the recent studies in the United States (of which I have not seen a Canadian counterpart) on the question of whether working wives increase family income inequality. See the Summer 1980 Journal of Human Resources (444-445) for some background, Gini Curves, and Barbara Bergmann (et al)'s observation about the Wall Street Journal's concern over this issue, "the latter not previously well known as a source of disquiet about inequality".
- <sup>8</sup>If hidden unemployment is considered, the milestone has been reached and surpassed already, e.g. according to H. L. Robinson in his blistering attack on the use of the concept of secondary earner in the development of employment policy. "A Secondary Majority", Canadian Forum, October, 1977.
- <sup>9</sup>Unpublished projections, Ontario Ministry of Labour.

NOTES (CONT'D)

- <sup>10</sup> This point was made by an official of Statistics Canada at a Conference on Female Labour Force Participation held at the Centre for Policy Analysis in the University of Toronto in March, 1980.
- <sup>11</sup> There is also a table on this relationship cited in Michael Krashinsky's study of Day Care and Public Policy in Ontario, Ontario Economic Council, Toronto, 1977, p.8. However this table, from unpublished Statistics Canada data for April, 1967, and March, 1973, has the limitation that the participation rates are not controlled for age.
- <sup>12</sup> See Equal Pay for Work of Equal Value: A Discussion Paper, Ontario Ministry of Labour, Toronto, 1976. Appendix A gives for 404 occupational categories (from Physicians to Newsboys) median earnings for men, median earnings for women, the ratio of the two, and the proportion of women in each occupational category.
- <sup>13</sup> For example, M. Gunderson, "Male-Female Wage Differentials and the Impact of Equal Pay Legislation", Review of Economics Statistics, November, 1975, pp. 466-468.
- <sup>14</sup> Except for the Federal labour jurisdiction in Canada and the Province of Quebec where equal value legislation has already been enacted, with thus far none of the cataclysmic consequences predicted by some opponents of the legislation. If there is any lesson to be learned from the past half century of government intervention in income distribution, it is that the distribution of income is remarkably difficult to alter. Equal pay for Work of Equal Value legislation, by itself, is more likely to give additional confirmation of this point than to bring about a revolution in wage structures.



- <sup>15</sup>For an excellent discussion of the state of disarray that is Modern Economics of inflation and employment, see Robert Lekachman, Economists at Bay: Why the Experts Will Never Solve Your Problems, McGraw-Hill, 1976.
- <sup>16</sup>Kirkpatrick Sale, Human Scale, Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, New York, 1980.
- <sup>17</sup>Dinerstein, pp. 100-110.
- <sup>18</sup>Another illustration would be the connection between nationalism and sexism. It is hard to believe that the cultivation of nationalism does not appeal to quite similar representational systems, and encourage quite similar behaviour patterns, as those which are inherent in sexism. The usual treatment of women by opposing armies (except where prohibited by the military hierarchy as part of a strategy of making today's enemy tomorrow's ally) is the ultimate fusion of these forces. Sexual liberation and liberation from the nation-state should be mutually reinforcing.
- <sup>19</sup>Including especially what Ruth Rose-Lizee refers to as Oscar Lewis' techniques in her fascinating description of life in Gensea, prepared for this Workshop. Or was it Jonathon Swift?
- <sup>20</sup>The formalized Quality of Work Life (QWL) movement has concentrated primarily upon the capital intensive, relatively well paying job sectors that are predominantly male, and has tended to neglect those factors which are likely to be of most concern to women, such as the interface between work and home. Having your employer and the Government show concern about your quality



NOTES (CONT'D)

of work life is a potential employment benefit, and the newest and best employment benefits generally go to those who are in the most advantaged employment situations - who are generally not women.

- <sup>21</sup> That compartmentalization is a privilege of dubious overall value is a major theme in the literature on Workaholism and work-related stress, e.g. Karl Albrecht, Stress and the Manager, Prentice-Hall, 1978. This sexual assymetry of freedom to lead compartmentalized lives has profound implications for heterosexual relationships. Dinerstein (p. 112): 'The possibility that a man will interrupt a woman's train of thought, interfere with her work, encourage her to sink back into passivity, make her an appendage of himself, does not engender the same panic in most of us - as the possibility that she will do this to him. The original threat that we all felt in this connection was felt as emanating from a woman, and we lean over backward in our heterosexual arrangements to keep this original threat at bay'.

IV

THE CHOICE OF TECHNOLOGY AND WOMEN IN THE PAID WORK FORCE

George Warskett



## 1. INTRODUCTION

The capitalist mode of production has manifested throughout its history an outstanding facility for bringing about a revolution in the methods of production. Correlated to the social and technical division of labour, changes in technology bring new capital-deepening methods into every sphere of the economy and immense gains in productivity through greater mechanization. Too often the analysis of technological change halts at this point. This is principally because from the purely technocratic perspective the march of technology is both inevitable and progressive, being an objective force for the betterment of mankind and one which workers in particular should cheerfully accept. The message broadcasted by economic theorists working within the standard neoclassical framework is scarcely any different.<sup>1</sup> This comes as no surprise as microeconomic theory is incapable of embracing unemployment, not only empirically but even conceptually, and places an unwarranted reliance on "free markets" to clear up the havoc of technological change. This approach when used partially and uncritically is apt to make us forget the tremendous adjustment cost borne by workers and the inequitable concentration of these costs upon a particular segment of the work force, even in the fortunate circumstance where empirically we fail to see strong adverse affects on aggregate employment levels.

Although other social scientists and unionists have warned of the dangers to employment that are contained in the silicon chip and other innovations, the ideology that technology presents an

unalloyed opportunity with no significant unpleasant consequences still persists. However, it is also unfortunately true that all too frequently the counter arguments warning of heavy social costs do not develop a deep understanding of the economic process by which the adoption of new technical methods of production takes place, an understanding which in my view is important for the formation of a working class strategy concerning the whole issue of technical change. Moreover, much too little attention has been paid to the social dimension which partly determines the form in which the new technology arrives at the workplace. There is no doubt in my mind that workers, well organized and also well informed about the technological blitz about to hit them, can influence the course of technical development (in the sense of "R & D") as it is about to enter the work process in commercial enterprises and government offices. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to these two key but neglected areas in the analysis of the social aspects of technology, namely the economic process of adoption and the social transformability of the final technological form.

Specifically this paper will concentrate on two features of technological change, the related unemployment and the concentration of social costs. The focal point of this discussion is the impact on women in the paid work force expected to emerge from the introduction of computer-communication technology into the work place. This will be followed by observations concerning the multiplicity of possible outcomes of technical change. It should be pointed out that the emphasis on the possible choice of technological design and



development before it arrives at the workplace have general applicability to all segments of workers. That is, even when prior consultation is made with employees, workers almost always are given Hobson's choice with technology, of having to comply with decisions already settled by management on a technological package concerning the machine-person ratio, changes in work organization, new working conditions, etc. In fact, and this is a major point to be repeatedly stressed, intervention by the workers is both a real possibility and a strategic necessity. Thus the path along which technological "progress" unfolds can and ought to be deflected from the direction taken, consciously or unconsciously, by an unopposed management whereby labour is destined to bear the main cost of adjustment. For women, because of their relatively insecure position as "information workers"<sup>2</sup> facing the new technology, the formation of an effective strategy to protect their interests is an important task yet to be fulfilled.

## 2. TECHNOLOGICAL UNEMPLOYMENT

There is a growing concern world wide over the issue of technology related unemployment.<sup>3</sup> For example, the influential Nora-Minc Report<sup>4</sup> in France projects technological unemployment in the range of 12-14 percent while in another study the employment dilemma for Britain was put as:

"Remain as we are, reject the new technologies and we face unemployment of up to 5.5 million by the end of the century. Embrace the new technologies, accept the challenge and we end up with unemployment of about 5 million". (SPRV Report; quotation in Zeman).

In a recent Japanese study<sup>5</sup> examining the impact of microelectronics on employment, the authors do not expect much of an effect on aggregate employment to occur although employment growth in many industries and occupations will experience a retardation. But job displacement in their estimation will present large problems, a view in agreement with that expressed in an Australian study.<sup>6</sup> Similarly in Canada, a survey of industrial and commercial enterprises by Peitchinis<sup>7</sup> showed that in 102 firms "for each new position created as a result of technological change at least 3 workers lost their job".

Technology is being introduced into offices in ways both familiar and unfamiliar. Computers have become the typical workhorse in connection with payroll, accounts and other routinized business functions, functions involving simple data processing. However, today's machines are constantly becoming more sophisticated and the data processing faculty of machines is now augmented by graphics and text handling capabilities. As with computers generally, word processors are changing the office environment progressively towards a word-processing factory complete with close surveillance by supervisors. Communicating word processors will also affect information employment in a multitude of roles. Apart from the example of electronic mail, the work of form-filling and filing involved in recording national and international transactions by private businesses will eventually be carried out at computer terminals networked across the country.<sup>8</sup> It is estimated that clerical employment can thereby be cut in half or more. These examples can be multiplied indefinitely.<sup>9</sup> For Germany the forecast is that by

1990 around 40% of present office work can be carried out by computerized equipment. A time study of typist work done in one company showed that the introduction of four word processor units would reduce the central typing pool from 14 typists and one supervisor to 11 typists and one supervisor, while simultaneously increasing the workload, and the work speed.<sup>10</sup>

The banking system in Canada is being transformed by the introduction of "electronic funds transfer systems" (EFTS). The impulse behind this development is assisted by the fact that more cheques are used per person in Canada than elsewhere, rising to an estimated four billion in 1980. Also each cheque is handled by the bank on average 14 times and stored for 15 years under current legal requirements. The cost of such a massive system is growing rapidly, making the EFTS inevitable. The fact that employment in bank data centres has not yet fallen off is explained by the necessity to keep a back-up staff to supplement the machines during the period of transition to automation. Once the bugs are removed from the system, significant lay-offs will be contemplated. Electronic mail is another significant area of application in information technology and distribution. Several types are available in a small way today in Canada, including message/record services like Telex and TWX, computer-communications based systems like I.P. Sharp's "mailbox", and facsimile services like facscan. CNCP now offers a service called Infotex, which is based on a network of communicating word processors using CNCP's national digital switched network and will provide electronic transmission of letters and documents.<sup>11</sup> The



major concern expressed in these studies and illustrated by the examples is that both technology related unemployment and job displacement can be expected with reasonable certainty. Just how extensive the effects will be is determined by several key factors, one being the state of aggregate demand.

The standard economic analysis of technological change concentrates almost exclusively on the associated productivity increases. Such gains-made in terms of more output per worker-would also appear to be at the expense of employment, the exemplar instance being the agricultural sector in most advanced industrial countries. And yet this example can also illustrate the basic economic mechanism by which new employment replaces the old. The restructuring of the economy came about because the fall in the cost of agricultural production, won by the introduction of labour saving machines, new seeds and chemical fertilizers. This fall at the same time cheapened the cost of labour power in all industries and raised real spending. As expressed by the Engels effect, less of labour's disposable income was spent on food and more on other consumer goods and services, both durable and non-durable. The allied growth in investment and wage income complemented each other and, if we abstract a bit from cyclical economic conditions, gave rise to new industries and to the overall expansion of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. Correlatively there had developed alternative employment providing for the most part the volume of vacancies needed to absorb the displaced agricultural workers.

But this classic example of the transition from agricultural employment to industrial and service sector employment should not cause us to overlook the many and real problems inherent in technological change. In the first place the question of whether or not successful compensatory employment actually materializes in any particular historical instance, depends crucially on the conjunction of several and specific economic and social factors. Paramount among these factors are the regional, sectoral and occupational mobility of the impacted work force, the level of aggregate economic activity, the state of foreign trade and competition, the pace of capital investment and finally the speed by which a new technology diffuses its way through the sector and perhaps the entire economy. Naturally, a too rapid rate of technological diffusion, as many investigators suspect will happen shortly in the specific case of microelectronics, can shake out workers in obsolete work locations faster than new jobs are created for them elsewhere within the market economy. For example, the advent of new production techniques in textiles is succeeded by the introduction of computers in the clothing industry, putting new impetus behind the process of displacing women, chiefly. Quebecois and immigrant workers respectively. The displaced workers in Toronto and Montreal, disadvantaged by problems of low skills and language, will be largely subject to long spells of unemployment or can find employment only at lower wages. Layed-off workers in the Eastern Townships will fare even worse since alternative employment opportunities are far narrower.<sup>12</sup>



In general, then, there is no theoretical or empirical grounds for reasoning that in any particular instance of technological change the free play of market forces will generate compensatory employment for displaced workers at the pace which matches their separation from jobs, either in the investment goods sector, in the consumer goods (and services) sector, or in both taken together. In fact it is the differing degree of confidence in markets evinced by the economist and by the commentators cited above (respectively high and low) that basically separates the two camps on the technology issue and gives rise to the opposite prognoses they espouse. Both positions are exaggerated, and both show the importance of the state of aggregate demand for determining the depth of unemployment that emerges after a wave of new innovations are introduced.

The concern over job loss or displacement is largely allayed when aggregate demand is growing and governments' active pursuit of their commitment to full employment reduces the incident of job losses. Under such conditions of labour shortages enterprises modernizing their process techniques, office technology and product lines, because of sustained domestic and foreign aggregate demand, have the incentive and the ability to internalize the job displacement process, through reclassification and retraining. At the same time any actual reduction in the workforce is achieved by way of turnovers and retirements. On the other hand labour is kept on in all areas to meet increased production requirements. For those workers in between jobs the wait in enforced idlement is not inord-

inately lengthy or costly before re-establishing their earning power and, indeed, in a general expansionary phase the lay-offs produced by the diffusion of labour-saving methods serve to release a supply of skilled and semi-skilled labour that would be needed for the expansion but otherwise would be unobtainable (except through immigration). There is no denying that technological change can be instrumental in promoting economic growth under the right conditions and provide a productive outlet for investment funds, generating an all-round increase in national income. But the technology optimist sees the benefits as issuing only from new methods of production and gives no credit to the policy of sustained final demand, a policy that in fact created the favourable conditions necessary for the market system of allocation (and also the "internal labour market" of corporations ) to function to the degree which maintains the work force in a state of substantial employment. In contrast, these ameliorating mechanisms at work during an expansionary phase are inoperative in periods of contraction or recession, markets become unresponsive and unemployment rather than growth is the result. Labour expelled as a result of investments in new technology wait longer (perhaps indefinitely) for reemployment. In addition the enterprise is less inclined to retrain its employees both because of the cost and because they have less openings needing to be filled. The ranks of the unemployed grow and there is no distinguishing between victims of an economic policy of contraction, strong foreign competition or displacement by machines. In the present phase the economy is experiencing all

these problems with an intensity not seen for 40 years, and naturally the concern over employment loss incurred by technology grows.

### 3. STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE ECONOMY AND INFORMATION WORK

Another basic factor that has to be taken into account is the long-run trend of a shift in employment in favour of services performed in the tertiary sector and away from the primary (agriculture and resources) and secondary (manufacturing) sectors. Between 1946 and 1977 90% of new jobs were created in the service sector. In addition, 38% of manufacturing jobs are to be found in office work, also the result of another long-term trend in employment patterns. This sectoral shift in work can be explained as issuing from the substantial increases in productivity made in goods production in conjunction with a developing national demand for services. While output per person in the goods producing sector increased under the process of absorbing the pool of modern industrial technology, the service sector enjoyed only slight productivity gains. These developments help promote the growth of bureaucracies, both private and public, the rise of non-market provision of services including medical care and education, and wholesale and retail trade growth.

Various attempts<sup>13</sup> have been made to categorize and explain this phenomenon notably in terms of the 'post-industrial society', 'knowledge production' and the 'information society'. These explanations emphasize the size of technical knowledge and the inherently non-private nature of information, that makes for the inevitability of bureaucracies. Because non-market provision of services are



presumed to be intrinsically less productive than market operations, the increasingly bureaucratized economy will experience a slowdown in growth. Empirically these studies attempted to chart the rise of information production and employment; the latter two did this by an elaborate reworking of the US national accounts, but all took technology to be an autonomous process independent of human will. For myself I see part of the structural change issuing from the singular nature of modern industrial capital and from the activities of, as I term it, cybernetic competition.<sup>14</sup> We have bureaucracies because of markets not despite them, for the role of information work, in this, view is to deliver and secure markets to the corporation as part of its competitive strategy vis à vis its rivals. Markets here are not the venue of pure price competition that is customarily supposed, but they are the place of intense non-price competition among giant oligopolies. This different perspective not only reveals the link between markets and bureaucracies but also permits us to see the social determinants behind technological change.

All these works had in common an empirical concern to unravel from the national accounts or the census the occupations and industries associated with the "information" sector of the economy. They represent an attempt to reorganize the broad aggregates of occupations and industries along lines corresponding to actual structural changes and which reflected the course of technological change. The results differ according to the approach taken but in terms of both analytical and empirical work the research has identified and stressed the specificity of information work, a type of work performed in private

and public bureaucracies and which is increasingly coming under the threat of computer-communications technology and its overarching information networks. These new aggregates and others like them thus permit a finer empirical separation of occupations according to their degree of vulnerability to capital-using technology.

The growth in information work in Canada has been considerable. The share of workers engaged in information work grew from 29% in 1951 to 40% in 1971.<sup>15</sup> The invasion of information work in manufacturing alone has grown nearly 250% between 1948 and 1973 in terms of hours of work, while in contrast production hours of work increased in the same period only 128%. Consider the occupational breakdown for 1971 reconstructed from Statistics Canada Census data. The largest group called 'information processors', comprised of 'administrators and managerial', 'process control and supervisory', 'clerical and related', amount to 25% of the Canadian work force. Other groups related to information production (scientists, market search and co-ordination specialist, information gatherers, consultants) constitute 7.5%; information distribution (educators and media professionals), 4.7%; information infrastructure (information machine workers - computer, typesetting, etc.; postal and telecommunications), 2.4%. Information work forms about 40% of the Canadian labour force, defined broadly and imperfectly on an occupational basis.

#### 4. WOMEN IN THE PAID WORK FORCE

The inflow of women into the work force has risen considerably over the past two decades. This is shown by the rise in the parti-



cipation rate from 35.4% in 1966 to nearly 50% where it presently stands. The narrowing gap between the number of men and women in the paid work force and the employment levels by sex, can be seen in Figure 1. A continuation in the end could lead to a 60% participation rate in 1990, with the implication that a possible extra 1.5 million women will be seeking work in 1990.

Lower level information work became the source of employment for many women entering the labour market.<sup>16</sup> Most women (61%) in the paid work force are located in the clerical, sales and service occupational categories, with the former accounting for over half of these numbers. In general, these jobs are characterized by low skill, low pay, shorter hours, high rates of turnover and a high proportion of part-time work (see Figure 2). At present the unemployment rate among all women (8.3%) is significantly higher than that for all men (6.3%), and this 2% spread holds also for older workers (24 years and over: women 6.0%, men 3.9%).

Whether in fact these jobs will be available for the taking depends on a sufficient level of sustained economic growth, the course of technological development within the 'information sector', and the availability of jobs in new occupations as technology destroys jobs in old occupations. Unfortunately, the job characteristics of those occupations with a large proportion of women employees shows the classic signs of a segmented labour market, in which certain immobilities create a barrier to a movement (through training) into jobs with greater security and career

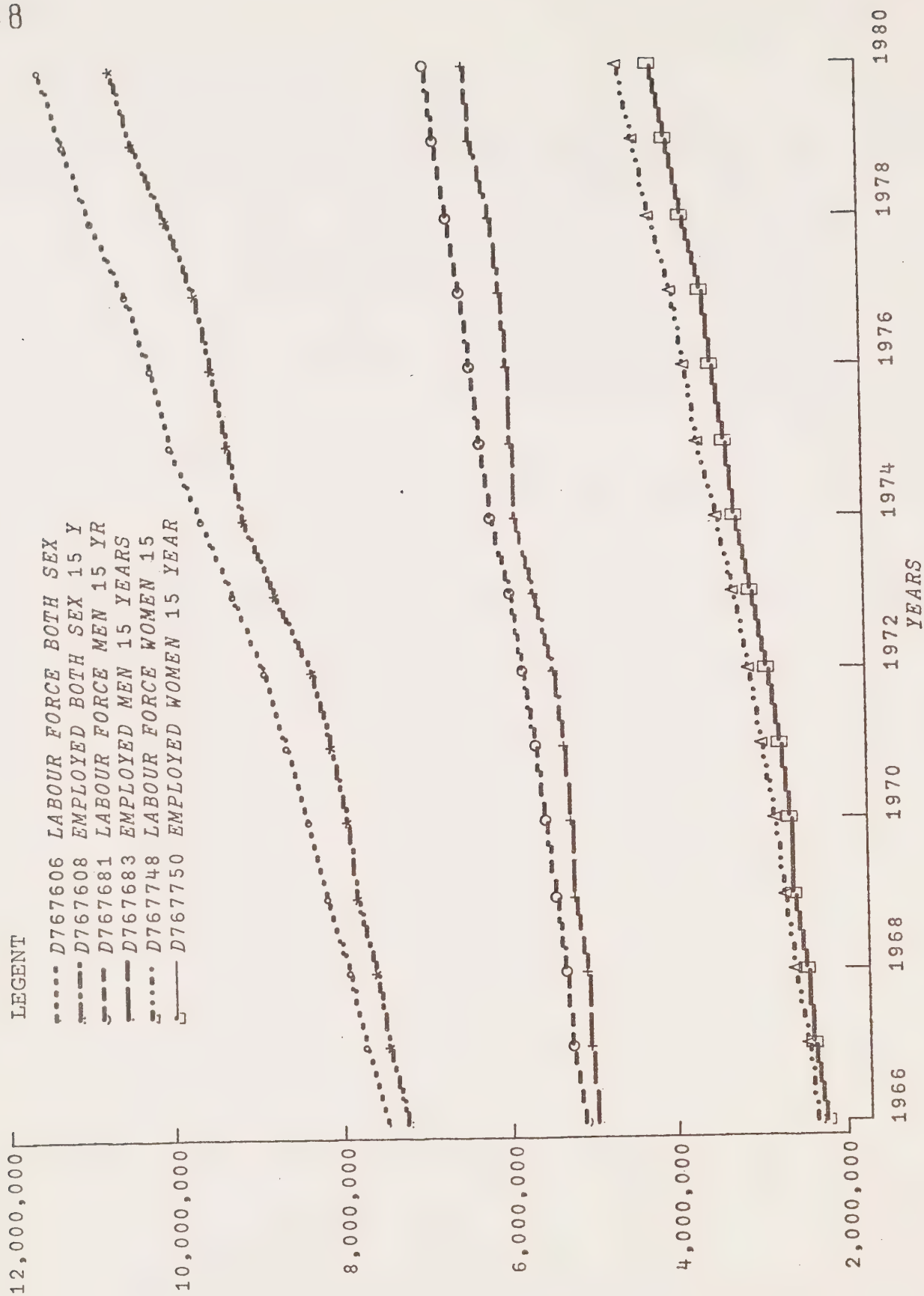


Figure 1: Labour force, by sex, Canada.

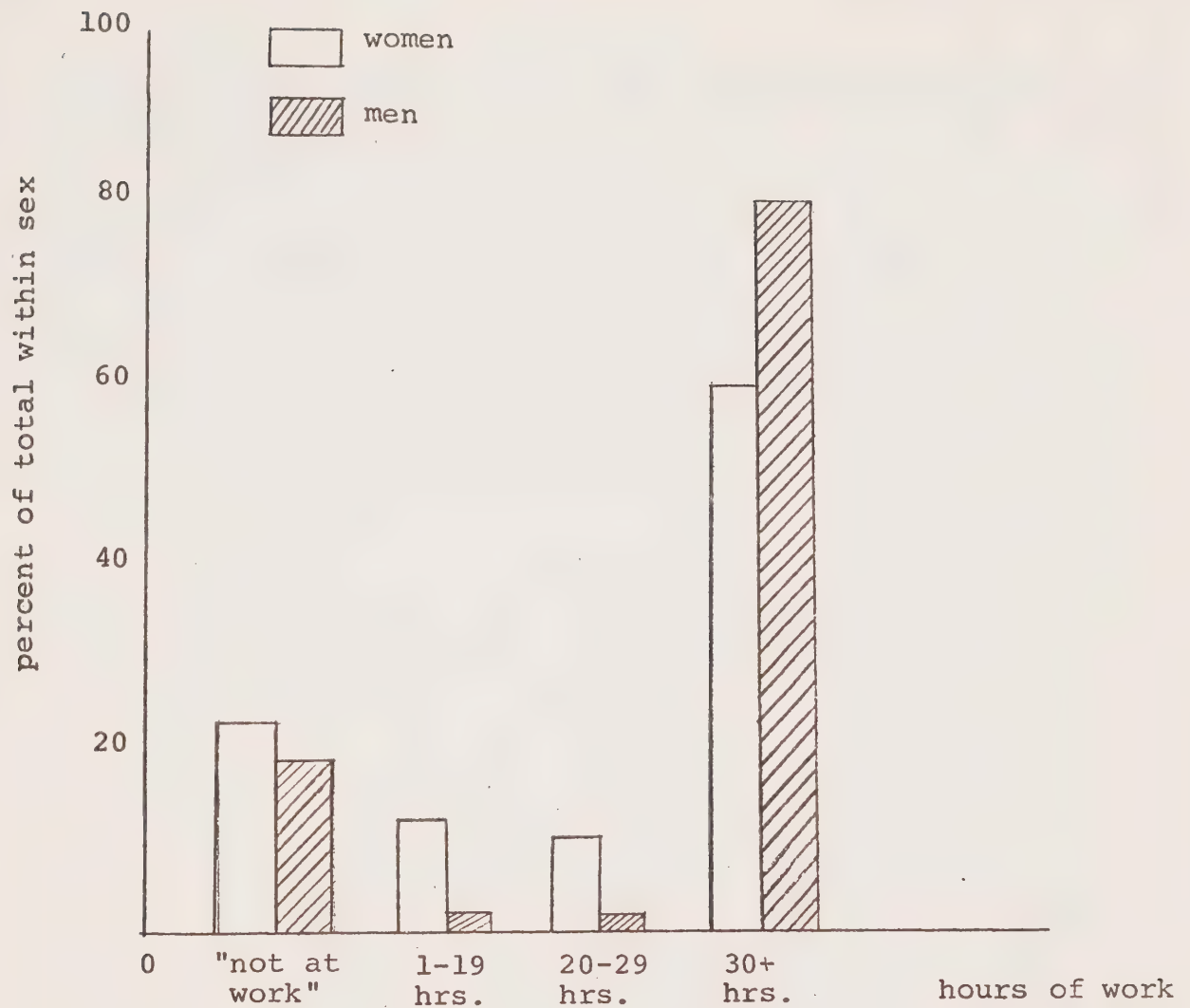


Figure 1: Employed persons by actual hours worked, by sex, Canada.

Source: Statistics Canada, July, 1980.

prospects and especially the computer related work requiring professional qualifications and predominately populated by men. It appears, then, that generally women can be faced with the problem of a retardation in the growth (if not an actual narrowing) of their employment base thanks to computer-communication technology, while at the same time the opportunities for alternative employment fail to become accessible to them at a sufficient rate to hold unemployment in check.<sup>17</sup>

In view of these pessimistic projections it becomes important to study in more detail the extent to which machines realistically are capable of replacing manual information work, how fast this could occur and the possible reshaping of the occupational profile which seem likely to follow as a consequence. While essential, such a task would not be easy to fulfill since it would involve, for any one selected technological advance, the unravelling of a complex interaction between the economic factors, technical specifications, factors affecting the rate of diffusion, and so on, and then the imponderables of unfolding future developments will always and unfailingly upset the accuracy of projections, even those produced by the most sophisticated forecasting model or system. Our major lack at this stage are data. It remains true, nonetheless, that knowledge of those structural economic influences that determine the course of an imminent or ongoing technological absorption into the workplace is an important part of the labour movement's intelligence operation, especially as a source of evidence or strategic information that can be called upon by employees or unions when

taking a stand or formulating a policy position on technological change and its effects on work.

##### 5. THE PROCESS OF TECHNOLOGICAL ABSORPTION IN THE ECONOMY

A new production method or information system is introduced onto the shop floor, office, warehouse or point-of-sale not simply because such an introduction has become a technical feasibility. Of course that is a necessary condition but only the economic considerations are sufficient. A decision to adopt the new technology is generally based on the economic advantages which it confers to the company, an accounting which looks to the productivity gain or the increase in output per worker as the principal factor on the positive side and the investment plus operating cost on the negative side. This calculation is equally applicable to robotics in the automobile industry as it is for information systems in the office. Of course, the more heavy the investment cost the slower will be the adoption rate, and the more specific and less general the machine's function the more limited will be its spread into sectors of the economy. For example, sales optimism in the period of the first computer generation (dominated by the UNIVAC 1, IBM 650 and 700 series and the British LEO, all of which were expensive and possessed a very limited operational capacity) was so low as to cause General Electric in 1954 to make the forecast that only 50 computers will be necessary to saturate the U.S. market. The subsequent developments show dramatically the paramount importance of falling costs to the diffusion rate of a technology and the widen-



ing pool of its potential users. But price is not the only dominant factor, for flexibility of application also counts; the computer has become a general purpose machine which nonetheless can be programmed to perform very specialized tasks (as in process control for example). These important factors, the tremendous fall in prices and increasing versatility, explain the growing concern over microelectronic applications, since there appears to be no limit to the range of applications and since the technology is falling into the price range attractive to small businesses as well as large. Thus as remarked earlier the labour-saving attributes of microelectronics may be inserted into the work place so rapidly as to displace workers at a rate too high for their reabsorption in the job market to take place without long spells of unemployment or lay-off.

But what are the positive employment effects for workers? As the example of agriculture showed, these can appear almost anywhere in the economy. A new technique can involve additional investment (i.e. not out of depreciation funds) in the machine producing industries. However, as the case of computer manufacturing illustrates very well, a sizable proportion of this job creation expenditure can be spent outside the country with the result that the direct and multiplier effects of this spending are lost to the country (apart from the extra foreign demand this spending creates for Canadian raw materials and semi-fabricated products). The remaining indirect employment effects can be divided into price effects and income effects, both of which became large sources of employment in the agricultural case.

A new method of production, whether in goods or services, generally reduces the real cost of production. This can lead to a direct fall in the (real) price to the consumer if the industry is producing a final product, or to a fall in the price of other

final goods and services if the industry is a producer of intermediate goods, and supposing part of the cost saving to the final producer is passed on to the consumer. The difference here from the agriculture example is that the agricultural industry at the time of its transformation was relatively competitive. The oligopolistic structure of markets that is prevalent in the modern economy can, and likely will, retard these price adjustments and the cost savings then are absorbed by distributed profits, retained earnings and productivity wage increases. The cost saving itself is spread unevenly throughout industries, it being the greatest at the point or sector where the innovation is introduced. Consequently relative prices can be affected as well as the overall real level of prices, the latter being reflected in a slowing of the inflation rate. The change in relative prices can be a source of change in the profile of industry output with concomitant adjustments in sectoral employment and occupational profile. This adjustment constitutes the price effect.

The income effect emerges from the additional real income which is generated by the reduction in overall real price level or where prices are not reduced, that which is allocated through the collective bargaining process between shareholders and management on the one side and organized labour on the other. The destination of the spending arising from the income effect will presumably be in proportion to the past consumer spending patterns (neglecting "inferior goods"), investment expenditure and government spending out of tax revenue, and would create new employment roughly in those proportions.

The impact of the price effect on the industry output profile will depend on price elasticities of demand. Finally, the emergence of new markets and new consumer products needs to be considered since they can be, as they have in the past, a potentially large source of new employment, not only directly but also through expansion in retail trade and servicing.

The process of absorbing a new technology is thus a complex phenomenon with many causal links to consider. In a real sense there is no anticipating what the overall employment impact in a market economy will be with any accuracy, either in the short term or in the long term. But the policy action (if any) viewed as appropriate depends on the reading made of this complex chain of cause and effect. For example, because in a market economy one sees only a multitude of uncertainties regarding the consequences of technological change, an appropriate national policy is nearly always impossible to formulate. The free play of market forces for the most part are allowed to operate unhampered, not only because this does represent a coherent policy in terms of the dominant ideology, or because no policy maker is capable of predicting the outcome of their action, but because the free play of markets is the overriding element in government policy formation generally. The dynamic element in economic growth, according to the common interpretation of industry and government, lies in the objective rationality of entrepreneurial decision makers, and the training of policy framers rigidly reflects this perspective. Therefore the prime dilemma regarding change which has been identified in the



OECD councils is the one of choosing between the policy of promoting the adoption of the new technology and thereby creating the burden of large unemployment and considerable adjustment problems, or of retarding this introduction to save jobs which leaves the economy unproductive and vulnerable to foreign competition. This approach to the issue of technological change is, at bottom, false. It presupposes that the march of technological development is unilinear, unalterable and fundamentally outside human control. In fact, the final outcome is the result of a complex chain of human decisions, not all made on behalf of some metaphysical "objective rationality", but most often made to serve some corporate advantage in the throes of "cybernetic competition", the social rationality of which is extremely doubtful.

#### 6. TECHNOLOGICAL DETERMINISM AND CHOICE

There is a strong mystique of inevitability which surrounds the concept of technological change that gives management a psychological and strategic advantage over labour. As D. Noble<sup>18</sup> expresses it, this mystique is based upon an "ideology of technological determinism". That is

Technological determinism is an enervating view of history as an automatic, inevitable process, dictated by the ineluctable, self-determining march of technology. It is a view promoted by the powerful to obscure and legitimize their own handiwork and their relations with the less powerful, and it is a view that fosters passivity and cynicism, a general sense of helplessness in the fact of "technology" or "change". (p. 314)

As Noble demonstrates for the US machine tool industry, the parti-

cular form of the final dominant technology came about through the intervention and influence of many factors extrinsic to the technology itself - the US Air Force, the structure of industry, and most importantly, the desire of management to tighten control and further regulate the work process. Each intervention, made at all stages from conception to ultimate adoption, crucially affected the direction, shape and scale of the numerical-control machine tool technology introduction into commercial application.

Secondly, in view of the realization that technological change is not, after all, "irreducible and to have singular effects and not others", nor is it necessarily true that the relation between cause and effect is "automatic and inevitable", labour must change its "habit of thought" and intervene to "steer the course of 'progress' in a more human direction":

Labour, in essence, faces three important challenges. First, it must transcend the ideology of technological determinism by demystifying technology itself. It must convince itself that human choice, not technology, moves history - despite the seeming automaticity of the machinery in the shop - and thus become reawakened to the possibilities. Second, it must regain its confidence by preparing itself, through study of the possibilities, to articulate its own choices in its own class interest. (p. 314)

The new information technology and the technological package making "the office of the future" are no more inevitable or unilinear than any other changes, as far as the effects on the work place is concerned. While women performing manual information work will be confronted perhaps more than any other group of workers by large changes in the circumstances of their work, job security and



tenure, changes that promise to take place rapidly as the adoption of the technology quickly spreads, as the above example illustrates, they do not have to accept the very form that develops under the unilateral choice of the employer. It is important for the affected workers to become fully aware of the range of options that are available upon adoption of a particular technology in the workplace. It is not the case that one specific mode of application is dictated by the technical specifications of the basic technology, so that the consequences for workers, in the way in which they are distributed and the inequality of the burden, are inevitable and unavoidable. Of course any change of the technical conditions of production calls for a flexibility of response by employees, but it is inevitably true that the changes, chosen by management decision, are seen as opportunities to be grasp for modifying the organization of work in favour of "productivity" gains. The result is that workers often find they are subjected to a unilateral reclassification of work functions, new forms of hierarchial and horizontal divisions of work, surveillances and supervision, and changed working conditions. Word processing factories, specialized "work stations" in the office, the loss of control over and the powers of decision in the performance of work, relocations, reclassifications, more work related rigidity and stress, these in their specific form all stem from management planning. But the fact remains there exists a choice of options in the introduction of a technology, and it is the function of management to make that choice, as far as they are allowed, which yields up the most work at least cost. Clearly, then, in the face of

technological change the response of management shows a basic behaviour trait of inflexibility and the large extent to which they get away with this only adds to the sense of a cause and effect inevitability that mystifies technological change and makes workers more acceptable of the harm done. But options there are, and some are less harmful than others in terms of the concentration of social cost and the deterioration that is created in working conditions. And yet alternatives are not willingly contemplated by employers, for it is not in their nature. It is possible, however, that a more flexible attitude to the final form that the technology takes in the work place can be pressed upon them. For example, the Canadian Post Office had the choice between optical reader machines for letter sorting, the present (imported) mechanical system of sorting, or not change at all. In this choice naturally the role of economic calculations were dominant but it is clear from CUPW documentation submitted to the conciliation board that these calculations did not include the costs associated with the adverse impact on the workers. The specific design of the machines, in the interest of capital cost savings, created a work environment both crowded and having a high noise level. The sorters' work speed could also be subjected to the speed of the machine (but was not). Supposing the employer was forced to take account of degraded working conditions into their economic calculations the choice may or may not have been different, but the possibility in the way of prototype design shows how and when the decision should be made. This is well illustrated by the relatively new automated sorter for oversized envelopes. These

machines, manufactured in Canada, are comparatively quiet (remarkably so when compared to the Toshiba machines) and allows more space at the sorter's work station. The point is, however, that these machines were designed by the Post Office to provide an automated sorting process which is compatible with a given standard of working conditions. It can only be supposed that the employer's regard for this minimum standard was instilled by the militancy of CUPW.

This example serves to demonstrate that the appropriate technology has to be won by employees, by taking a stand on technology, informed by studies made of the technical possibilities open to alternatives, systems and formats. Choices in prototype design, even of the basic technology to be adopted, are open, although a serious struggle with management may well ensue before the proper choice is settled and established. But the realization that the course of technical development is indeterminate, malleable and susceptible to social choice and guidance, is not sufficient. The struggle with management in this arena is no less a power struggle than for other employment benefits, perhaps more. It is generally true that women lack the means to influence the choice of technology and its consequences. This is all the more true for an unorganized workforce since management discretion is backed by the full power of capital, and is typically evoked (layoffs, firings, lockouts, relocation of plant to a city or country offering a more favourable climate of industrial relations, etc.). It is simply beyond the capacity of a localized group of workers to countermine this immense force and clearly organization is a necessity. New

strategies are called for, perhaps a close association between the women's movement and labour unions. Most of the strength of the women's movement lies outside the environment of the work place thus leaving an organizational vacuum in a crucial area for working women in those locations where they are not unionized. But the unhampered progress of technological change determined by corporate decisions knows no respect for industry boundaries, and while unions are a necessary part of the struggle to protect the interests of women and men, some degree of coordination that ranges beyond an individual union's jurisdiction is essential. While the union centrals (CLC, etc.) are important here, the women's movement can assist greatly through its national connections. It could be a potentially powerful element in coordinating and informing working women in struggle. In cooperation with the union centrals the movement can help promote the formulation of unions that will become the crucial element in the struggle to achieve "appropriate" technology in the work place.



# FOOTNOTES

1. Representative of this technical genre is W. D. Nordhous, Invention, Growth and Welfare, MIT Press, 1969.
2. See G. Warskett, "Information, Competition and Cybernetic Work", Studies in Political Economy, forthcoming.
3. The following bibliography compiled by Jane Stinson gives a background on the issue of technological unemployment and the various positions that are espoused. Also see Zeman for further references.

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V

IMPLICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE  
OF LABOUR MARKET SEGMENTATION ANALYSIS:  
THE UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Martha MacDonald



Implications for Understanding Women  
in the Labour Force of Labour Market  
Segmentation Analysis - The Unanswered Questions

Introduction

One purpose of this paper is to critically share with the reader an existing body of literature which contributes to understanding the organization of demand for female labour and the historical and current changes in that demand. This literature is the political economic work done in labour economics and sociology on segmentation processes in advanced capitalist labour markets. The second purpose is to highlight two critical issues which emerge out of both this work and the feminist literature. The first issue is how the marginalization of women is analytically similar to, or distinct from, the marginalization of other groups in capitalism. The second issue concerns the family wage and its relationship to segmentation processes.

These two related issues are singled out as key dimensions requiring both theoretical and empirical work to complement existing understanding of the labour process and women's role. They are particularly important issues in linking the analysis of domestic labour and the reproduction of labour power with the analysis of the labour process

involving both sexes. It is this integration which is a major point of theoretical debate and empirical investigation in the feminist literature<sup>1</sup> and which is totally neglected in most non-feminist work on the labour process. In the latter, an analysis of reproduction is missing as a foundation for the analysis of production. The individual, average worker of both Marxist and mainstream economic theory is an abstraction from age/sex/race differences, and from marital status/household role differences.<sup>2</sup> This paper suggests directions for analysis of the two focal issues, including use of the labour reserve concept common to both feminist work and political economy work on the labour process. Questions are raised to which future research can be addressed.

1. Traditional Approaches of Neoclassical and Marxist Economics to Women in the Labour Force

Neoclassical economics for many years treated labour as colourless, sexless and family-less. Wages reflected workers' contribution to the value of production and tended to equalize for workers of similar skills. Any treatment of wage differences between sex/race groups which was attempted with this framework assumed real or anticipated differences in productivity (based on such factors as education, experience, turnover), or a taste for discrimination by otherwise rational employers, or barriers



to competition created by the exclusionary behaviour of male (white) workers. Thus, wage/employment differences were treated either as ultimately reflecting individual choice in labour supply behaviour, or as resulting from discriminatory behaviour of male (white) employers and workers which resulted in crowding of the excluded sex/race groups into certain labour markets. Both of these explanations put the full blame for sex-related differences in wage/employment outcomes on extra-economic sex roles<sup>3</sup>.

The problem with this model is that the interesting issues are all taken as givens (given discrimination, given sex-typing of jobs, given women's responsibility for child rearing, given the structure of jobs). The organization of demand and the historical origins of sex-segregated labour markets are all exogenous. The results of optimizing behaviour by workers and firms are analyzed, given a fixed structure. The hegemony of this model within economics has made it extremely difficult to get answers to the questions in which feminists are interested.

Marxist economics, on the other hand, does provide a historical framework for the evolution of labour relations and the organization of labour demand. Thus there has been optimism that it is a paradigm which supports analysis of the sexual division of labour. Marx, Engels and

succeeding Marxist scholars have given some attention to the implications for sexual roles of the forces of capital accumulation and class struggle. However, the overriding emphasis has been on class divisions, not sexual divisions.<sup>4</sup> The Marxist-feminist literature has made great strides in using Marxist methods to understand the sex-based dynamics of the capitalist labour process and the capitalist relations of reproduction.<sup>5</sup> However, a tension between the two analyses exists, and Marxist-feminist work proceeds almost outside, or alongside, mainstream Marxist work on the labour process.

## 2. Labour Market Segmentation Analysis

### a) Overview of segmented labour markets

Labour market segmentation analysis, on the other hand, has as its focus the differing labour force experiences of groups in capitalism. The purpose is to move away from the average worker and the average work setting of either neoclassical or Marxian analysis and to deal more consistently with the essentially uneven nature of capitalist development. It is a structural approach to understanding the divisions in the workforce which arise out of the general relations between capital and labour and the process of capital development. The focus is on the

changing organization of labour demand. It does not simply compare all women to all men, but examines processes which affect the differential labour force experience of various subgroups (racial, sexual, ethnic, age) in the population. As such, it is an important reference point, and point of departure, in developing new research specifically on the female labour force. It also provides a point of comparison with feminist work on sex-segregated labour markets; in some cases it provides a broader context within which to place the sex-related findings.

What is meant by labour market segmentation and what is the nature of the analysis? A summary of one variant, known as dual labour market (DLM) theory, will serve as an introduction (Harrison and Sum, 1979; Clairmont, et al, 1980; Cain, 1976). In its simplest form, it is a description of a labour market reality where opportunities are discontinuous, mobility is limited, and the labour force is divided. The economy is seen as comprising two labour markets, or sets of jobs. The primary labour market (PLM) is characterized by jobs with relatively high wages (for given skill), good fringe benefits, stability and job security. These jobs are also part of internal labour markets. This means that only entry level jobs in a PLM work setting are open to the general competition of the labour market; other jobs are filled by promotion, and thus

there is an opportunity for upward mobility in terms of wages. These are the "good" jobs. Secondary labour market (SLM) jobs, on the other hand, are dead-end jobs (lack internal labour market attachment), pay relatively low wages, have poor working conditions and little job stability in terms of continuous full-time work. Furthermore, behavioural expectations of stability, reliability and commitment to the job differ between the two segments.

With limited mobility from the SLM to the PLM (partly due to the paucity of PLM openings) people become locked into the SLM; they may gradually take on the unstable work habits which match the unstable demand of that sector, and this further restricts the possibility of mobility. Non-whites, immigrants, women and teenagers are disproportionately found in the SLM, although there are also many prime-age, native-born white males. Allocation to the SLM is not due to human capital deficiency, or partial labour force attachment. In DLM theory, employment instability is imposed on these workers rather than reflecting an accommodation with their actual employment preferences.

More complex versions within segmentation theory further divide the PLM into an upper tier composed of professional, managerial and certain craft jobs and a lower tier composed of semi-skilled and unskilled jobs.<sup>6</sup> Efforts are also made to expand the number of segments to impart



more realism. However, the dualism version remains strong, it only as the most cogent metaphor to emphasize division and discontinuity in the labour market. To reiterate, the key features of the approach are an emphasis on the structure of demand, rather than worker characteristics and choices, and an emphasis on the promotion and function of divisions among the workforce. Workers are not paid in accordance with their human capital-related characteristics, wages do not equate supply and demand and internal labour markets allocate many of the jobs in the economy with insulation from the competition of the external labour market. This is a simple description of how segmented labour markets operate. Much empirical evidence has been compiled documenting various aspects of this scenario throughout the Western world.<sup>7</sup>

#### b) Causal explanations of segmentation

What types of firms/industries operate in each segment and why does such segmentation exist? In terms of the former question, the main mapping in the literature has been from corporate, monopoly sector firms (capital intensive, concentrated, unionized, profitable) and the public sector into the PLM<sup>8</sup>, with the residual private sector jobs being typically SLM (much of trade, services,

competitive manufacturing, declining industries, small-scale unorganized workplaces). In terms of the latter question, causal explanations of segmentation can be located in relation to the two major economic paradigms - either neoclassical mainstream economics<sup>9</sup>, or Marxist economics (Gordon, 1972). Some explanations stand in a middle ground, and can be termed Institutional (Piore, 1979; Freedman, 1976) or eclectic, in that there is no fully developed concept of the total momentum of the economy in which to situate the analysis of the labour process. For example, Institutionalists see bargaining power between workers and employers, but not class struggle; they emphasize instability of product, and therefore labour, demand, but not the inherent instability of the capitalist system. On the other hand, they reject much of the neoclassical approach, including short-run analysis, tendencies toward "equilibrium", and the independence of supply and demand.

In Institutional work, the origin of segmented labour markets is typically located in the attempts by firms and workers to insulate themselves from the inherent demand instabilities in capitalism by capturing the stable portions of markets; thus, the instability becomes concentrated in the competitive product markets and in the secondary labour markets. There is a tendency for large firms to develop in the stable portions of product markets and for competition

among small firms to prevail elsewhere. The extent of the division of labour and the development of technology diverge, transmitting the dualism in the product market into the structure of jobs. Fluctuating product markets, or small product markets, limit the division of labour which is possible, and restrict the development of internal labour markets. Unstable product demand thus fosters unstable labour demand. The development of the PLM/SLM division in this approach is also conditioned by institutional factors, particularly the success of organized workers in sheltering their employment.

Marxist, or radical, explanations of segmented labour markets (Gordon, 1972; Edwards, et al, 1975 and 1979; Friedman, 1977) emphasize the labour/capital conflict over control of the labour process, and the dualism of the industrial structure which developed with monopoly capitalism. In the early twentieth century, the transition to monopoly capitalism occurred as the natural outcome of the drive for capital accumulation. This concentration of capital resulted in a monopoly sector characterized by competition among a few powerful corporations of increasing size and bureaucracy (and by extensive involvement of foreign and state capital in Canada), and a competitive sector which retained the characteristics of nineteenth century capitalism. From this dualism in industrial

structures grew dualism in labour markets. In the monopoly sector, large congregations of homogeneous labour (as machines replaced craft skills) created the conditions for increasing class consciousness and resulted in renewed labour militancy in both Canada and the United States. Internal labour markets were created as an attempt to control labour, and wage premiums were also introduced, thereby recreating a divisive heterogeneity of labour on capitalist terms (Braverman, 1974, Edwards, et al, 1975). Internal labour markets, in this scheme, are not technologically determined, but are an "efficient" response to the power of undifferentiated labour which may be manifested in union activity, in lack of discipline and productivity, or in costly turnover. Internal labour markets often preceded the wage and security demands of the industrial unions in the 1930'S and '40's. These union efforts, in monopoly sector firms, built on the already institutionalized systems of wage and status differentials by negotiating consistent rules of labour allocation and overall increases in the wage scale. This, then, is the origin of the PLM in Marxist analyses.

Marxist explanations locate the SLM primarily within the competitive sector. In this sector, the employment practices of early capitalism were continued, including control by simple hierarchy and the use of the



reserve army of the unemployed as a disciplining force and wage depressant. In addition, the continuing process of capitalist expansion fueled the excess labour supply in this sector, as more and more people were forced out of independent commodity production and as more and more jobs in the monopoly sector were replaced by machines.

The implication is that capitalists only improved wages and working conditions when forced by either worker demands or government fiat. Capitalism historically made these improvements in a way which divided the working class and this division served to undermine the development of subjective working class consciousness. In this analysis the use of a PLM or SLM employment strategy depends on both the nature of the production process and the relations of production (the strength of worker resistance). In the Marxist approach the concentration of capital occurs spatially as well as sectorally. Therefore, whole regions, such as the Maritimes, the Caribbean or Malaysia become labour reserves, with a dominant SLM and small enclaves of PLM establishments. In summary, Marxist work sees the origins of segmentation in a struggle between capital and labour to control the labour process; this is dialectically related to the momentum of capital accumulation which generates a monopoly sector and a competitive sector of the economy and a general pattern of uneven development.

It is from the Institutional and Marxist analyses of the labour market segmentation process that we will draw implications for women. The key issues in segmentation work are the origin, evolution, and interrelationships of segments (i.e. the organization of the demand for labour) as outlined above, the allocation of workers, or groups of workers, between segments, and the effects on workers of differential allocation. We will briefly highlight the findings relevant to women from these areas, relating them to work done exclusively on sex segregation in the labour force.

#### c) Allocation of Groups Between Segments

Firstly, we examine the allocation of workers between segments. There is some debate over whether groups allocated to the SLM are created by capitalism, or exist previously and are used by capitalism. This is similar to the debate in Marxist-feminist writing concerning how the sexual division of labour relates to capitalism.<sup>10</sup> In both, the evidence seems to support the use, exacerbation and transformation of pre-existing group differentiations - whether they be sexual, racial, or ethnic. Regarding the SLM, there is evidence of continual adaptation by employers to changes in group expectations/identity (for example,

second generation immigrants) by actively searching out new labour sources (Piore, 1979). The resistance to change in the SLM is independent of the existence of any particular group.

Several attempts have been made to find a common thread to the groups overrepresented in the SLM - women , immigrants, youth, non-whites. One focus is on the exclusive sheltering actions of some workers through vehicles such as unions or protective legislation which have systematically discriminated against women and against non-whites and immigrants, leaving them as cheap labour for the SLM (Freedman, 1976; Bonacich, 1980). Another focus suggests that these groups have in common a lack of full commitment to wage work. Sabel (1979) terms such groups 'peasant workers', and includes the rural workforce, with its subsistence base, temporary immigrants who may be target income earners, and women or youths who see themselves as secondary earners in a family.<sup>11</sup> Not all members of these ascriptive groups may have this 'peasant worker' mentality, but statistical discrimination based on this will affect them all. Such Institutional analysis imparts a voluntaristic note to some SLM participation. A Marxist analysis of the same phenomena would emphasize the role of capitalist expansion in creating (and eroding) semi-proletarianized groups (groups not totally dependent on wage labour for survival).

Another approach to finding a common thread among SLM groups has been to emphasize the remains of a caste system, where "a group of workers are socialized to accept as their permanent station in life, from one generation to the next, low status, insecure jobs" (Piore, 1979b, p. 121). This approach unites women and non-whites, whereas the previous thread links women, youth and immigrants. These mechanisms may historically interact to determine group allocation to segments.<sup>12</sup> The analysis, however, is incomplete, particularly as it pertains to women. This is the basis for one of the unanswered questions to which we turn shortly.

The allocation of groups among segments raises the question of how this relates to the industry /occupation segregation by sex, with its accompanying wage differentials, which has been well documented and analysed in the past few years (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978; Connelly, 1978; Marchak, 1977). Evidence from segmentation work suggests that women suffer from both sex segregation and labour market segmentation in terms of their job allocation (Beck, et al, 1978; Boyd and Humphreys, 1979). The segmentation effect operates within industries and within occupations. In my own work on a sample of marginal work world establishments I find that the proportion of full-time employees who are female is significantly higher



in those establishments than in the industries in which they operate, where industry controls to some extent for occupational composition. Another study by my colleagues (Wien and Osberg, 1979) analyses the process of educating and streaming clerical workers into the marginal work world versus the central work world. In other words, even female-segregated occupations and/or industries are affected by segmentation. The importance of such extra-sexual segmentation processes for female labour force experience is also supported by a study of women in corporate and marginal employment - dominated towns (Marchak, 1976). Marchak found that though there were occupational barriers attributable to their sex in both types of segments, the range of possibilities was greater in the corporate town, and emphasizes that "if we are genuinely concerned about the problems of women, we will have to be at least equally concerned about the problems of marginal workers and regional disparities as they affect both sexes and their families" (p. 14).

d) Costs of segregation/segmentation to women

What is the cost in income of differential segment allocation and how is this related to sex? Most feminist work focuses on occupational segregation<sup>14</sup> and emphasizes

further that where women and men are engaged in the same occupation, even at the same workplace, the jobs done are usually distinct, as are the pay scales. Segmentation studies suggest an additional effect operating on women's labour incomes. Women experience more of a returns gap between segments than do men, in addition to the familiar male/female returns gap within each segment (and in the aggregate economy). For example, Boyd and Humphreys (1979) find that core/periphery location has a "larger effect on the incomes of females, net of variables such as education, occupational status and years in the labour force" (p.12), compared to the effect on males. A U.S. study (Beck, et al, 1978) finds that the returns to human capital are greater for males than females in each sector, and greater in the core than in the periphery. Furthermore, they find more discrimination in earnings within the core than in the periphery and in both segments they find sex discrimination to be greater than race. Further evidence of the greater effects of segmentation on women than on men is found in Clairmont and Jackson (1980). In a sample of matched pairs of blue collar workers (matched on occupation, sex, ethnicity and age) they found the gap between the public and marginal sectors to be greater for females than for males in terms of pay levels, pensions, sick days, vacation length and income mobility.

It is important to establish the interrelations between segmentation and sex segregation/discrimination. Recent work has focused on sexually discriminatory mechanisms within internal labour markets in the PLM (Kelley, 1980; Stevenson, 1980). Although sex discrimination operates in both segments, the mechanisms may be different. Understanding these mechanisms may enable us to consider strategies appropriate to the segment, rather than depending on a monolithic analysis of sex discrimination. On the other hand, segmentation theorists often downplay the consistent sexual inequality found in both segments, where women are at the bottom of whatever status hierarchies do exist.

e) Changes in the division of work between segments

The final subtopic from segmentation studies to be considered is how the division of work between the PLM and the SLM changes over time, and the implications of this for understanding changing patterns of female labour force involvement. Institutionalists and Marxists agree that the SLM serves necessary functions in the economy such as absorbing demand instabilities, providing flexibility to employers and lessening labour unrest. In fact the price of having some PLM jobs is having a SLM. It is not

predetermined which jobs will be PLM or SLM, though certain jobs are more conducive to one form of organization than the other. It is also not clear that segmentation, as described here, is a permanent feature of the labour process; PLM institutional arrangements seem to be increasingly vulnerable.

It is important to distinguish between secular and cyclical trends in the organization of labour demand. For example, the current stage of capitalist development is characterized by the growth of the service sector. As with other industries in the early stages of development, much of the service sector is labour intensive and is conducive to a SLM organization of demand. At the same time, the core manufacturing industries which have provided most of the PLM jobs are not expanding in employment. This is a secular trend in the demand for labour and its distribution between SLM and PLM opportunities. Cyclical trends are superimposed on this, and reflect employer responses to instability and uncertainty. For example, Piore (1979 p. xxiii) suggests that the last decade has featured great economic uncertainty in terms of the energy crisis, inflation, and unpredictable government policy.<sup>15</sup> In such an environment employers tend to respond to demand increases in ways which are reversible; rather than undertaking intensive capital investment, and/or creating PLM jobs involving long term costs and commitment,



they tend to increase the use of subcontractors and other forms of tapping the SLM. The SLM has been expanding recently for both secular and cyclical reasons, and women have been drawn into the labour force in both cases. This distinction can also be usefully applied to the historical growth of the the SLM.

A Marxist analysis of the changing organization of labour demand suggests another distinction which aids in understanding PLM/SLM growth. That is the distinction between the continual change inherent in capitalism due to the dynamic process of capital accumulation, and change which results from class struggle.<sup>16</sup> The two are dialectically related, so the distinction is merely a way of organizing the discussion. The key elements of the dynamic of capital accumulation which affect the PLM/SLM evolution are the concentration of capital (development of a capital intensive monopoly sector), the continual increase in the domain of capital (creation of new investment outlets and a universal market) and the continual creation of a reserve army of labour. For example, the recent increase in the international concentration and mobility of capital have altered the conditions which helped create a PLM in the core of national economies (Bluestone and Harrison, 1980); furthermore, capitalism has expanded more and more into the sphere of reproduction in the current accumulation phase.

Such forces suggest an expansion of activities which are currently organized in the SLM, and also an ability to transfer current PLM activities to the SLM (either at home or overseas). Class struggle affects how the present stage of capitalist development actually gets translated into job structures. To the extent that the PLM reflects one historical result of the struggle over control of the labour process (with capitalists creating hierarchy, and organized workers forcing them to pay in terms of wages and security) then the PLM is an unstable configuration. For example, there is a tendency for companies in this sector to escape the institutionalized high-wage environment through such means as moving plants to low-wage areas, or subcontracting to the SLM. The process of deskilling (Braverman, 1974; Rinehart, 1975) creates the technical possibility of organizing work in a SLM manner if an appropriately docile or captive labour force can be found. It is hard to downgrade PLM workers; it is easier to introduce altogether new labour power. These processes have all worked to expand the employment opportunities of women in recent years, in the SLM.

These points simply summarize the framework used in segmentation work to analyse the changing organization of labour demand. The application of this to historical periods, and the detailed outline of the present job

configuration can be found in the literature. The increase in subcontracting, part-time work, runaway shops, self-service, and the microelectronic revolution are all features of the present trend of SLM expansion. The summary implication of this for female labour is that women are being particularly used in this present stage of expansion of the SLM, in terms of the new areas being brought into the market and organized in SLM ways, in terms of the transference of prior PLM (male) areas to the SLM and in terms of the erosion of "family wages" in the PLM. The familiar data on changing labour force patterns of women (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978) can be situated in this overall development dynamic.

### 3. Unanswered Questions

Obviously this has been a sympathetic summary of labour market segmentation analysis. The literature addresses many of the questions on the organization of labour demand which must provide the background for the analysis of any particular group in the labour force. Furthermore there are many specific references to the role of women in the labour force which should be examined in order to avoid duplication of effort. However, serious criticisms can be made of this body of work, and there are gaps which are particularly crucial to understanding women's

role in capitalism. For example, much of the work has been ahistorical, and has simply measured working conditions and incomes of various groups without contributing to an understanding of why this situation exists. The subject matter is extremely broad, covering all labour force participants, all characteristics of jobs, and the whole of the modern capitalist epoch. The effort to escape narrow disciplinary bounds has further diversified the work. Thus the question of "women" tends to get lost. The SLM is the sector where women predominate, yet in the analysis sex becomes just another variable. There is almost no attention paid to the dual nature of women's role in capitalism, or to the relation of unpaid domestic labour to paid labour. Women and minorities are grouped together despite obvious differences in their role in reproduction of labour power. Similarly, women and youth are grouped together. The bases of similarity, and the significance of the differences, are inconclusively analysed or simply ignored. Finally, the unit of analysis is the individual job, wage or worker and the implication of segmentation for family units, and vice versa, is poorly understood. The remainder of this paper discusses on these missing pieces and suggests ways of filling the gaps.



(a) "Women and other minorities"

Segmentation literature focuses on how the marginalization of women is similar to the marginalization of non-whites, youth, immigrants and rural/urban migrants in capitalism, and how this marginalization is necessary to the system. Feminist work, on the other hand, focuses on how the female relation to capital differs from the male relation to capital. There is a theoretical and empirical gap between these two emphases. This seems to be an important link to develop in future research on women and the Canadian labour force. These bodies of research show that a golden age of sexual equality and a truly competitive labour market (process) with equal opportunities never existed under capitalism. The issue then is how women's inequality relates to the inequality experienced by others in the labour market.

Both of the analyses emphasize the role that a surplus labour supply plays in capitalism. For example, the groups who fuel the SLM are typically described as a reserve of labour which can be drawn upon, and workers in the PLM have been somehow sheltered from the pressure of this reserve. Feminist writing describes women as a reserve labour supply, whose use depends on the particular resolution of the contradictory needs of the system for

domestic labour and wage labour, all in the context of a patriarchal society (Connelly, 1979). One integrative approach is to use this common labour reserve framework and examine how the reserve operates in a segmented labour market. The purpose is to clarify the differential use of groups as reserve labour and SLM workers.<sup>17</sup> Segmentation theory leads us to question how groups are selected out of the reserve, how groups are discharged into the reserve and how workers struggle over positions in the reserve "queue". These questions require an elaboration of the original Marxian theory.

In the Marxian theory of the reserve army, the capital accumulation process both creates and requires a surplus labour force. It is required in order to fuel the expansion of capital, and to keep labour demands in check. Marx distinguishes several types of reserve, depending on how they are created. The floating reserve is created from within the present wage labour force by the process of capital labour substitution. The latent reserve exists where there is a basis for subsistence outside of the wage labour market, and it becomes available as capitalist production expands into new areas, eroding the basis of subsistence. The classic example of this is the forcing of the population out of agriculture, but it applies equally to the capitalization of other forms of petty commodity

production and also to women's domestic labour. The stagnant reserve is part of the active labour force, but has "extremely irregular employment. . . and minimum of wages. We have come to know its chief form under the rubric of 'domestic industry'" (Marx, 1974, p. 643). The stagnant reserve as described by Marx is thus analagous to the SLM of segmentation theory. Marx says "its conditions of work sink below the average normal level of the working class". Furthermore, the extent of the stagnant reserve "grows as with the extent and energy of accumulation" (Marx, 1974, p.643). The Marxian definition suggests two approaches to developing a theory of the flow within and out of the reserve in a segmented labour market which could help distinguish differences and similarities among reserve groups. First of all we can focus on the creation of the reserve and type of reserve status; secondly we can focus on the use of the reserve in terms of the character of the particular expansion which requires the reserve.

In terms of the first approach, what have been the patterns of reserve status of various groups? By way of example, we can examine the extent of movement out of the SLM, which we equate with the stagnant reserve. The movement has historically been in two directions: to some extent for males it has been a passageway into the primary labour market, as a first job, for example, or

intergenerationally for immigrants; the other direction of movement has been out of the wage labour market back into the latent reserve, such as women or temporary rural/urban migrants. The other pattern is for groups to tend to remain in the SLM, as has been true of blacks and women. Women's position is thus particularly determined by the changing conditions in her latent reserve basis, and is further exacerbated by unchangeable ascriptive characteristics, which function similar to race. The former is sensitive to changes in the organization and role of the domestic unit and the relative value (cost) of unpaid domestic labour compared to paid employment. The latter is sensitive both to worker efforts to secure and maintain a sheltered place in a segmented labour market, protected from the full competition of the reserve army, and to employer efforts to create heirarchical divisions among labour. Race and sex have played a role in this competition for a place in the queue, and the effect for women has been to reinforce the persistence of a particular form of domestic organization. The implication of this line of inquiry is that women's role in the domestic sphere is the key to their differences with other reserve groups, with more forces converging to keep them from becoming active primary labour.<sup>18</sup> This is consistent with the trend that the areas where women have achieved PLM status are increasingly being taken over by



men, as traditional male PLM opportunities erode, and the area of expanding jobs for women is the SLM. Thus, despite increasing labour force participation, women are still functioning as a reserve.

A second, and complementary, way to approach the question of the distinctive role of women as active or reserve labour is to examine on the particular character of the expansion which is utilizing the reserve. Earlier in the paper we spoke of the continual increase in the domain of capital. The differential flow of groups out of (or within) the reserve at each stage of capitalist development relates to several characteristics of the expansion. These characteristics include the rate of expansion of new jobs relative to the rate of creation of a floating reserve, the extent to which the activities into which capital is expanding replace the subsistence base of the latent reserve, the social, class and skill requirements of the new jobs, and the need to create a particular market for the new products (MacDonald, 1979). It can be shown that reserve groups are not equally well suited to fuel all expansions. For present purposes some examples will serve to illustrate the relationships. Detailed analysis of historical and modern conditions is needed to carefully develop this framework.

By way of example, we can consider the growth of

services such as health care, care of the aged, or restaurants. To a large extent the service industry replaces activities previously conducted outside of the markets for labour and goods, and thus the development of a capitalist service sector affects the activities of women in their latent reserve capacity. Women must be converted from producers to consumers and this combines with the fact that they may also have the ready skills to provide the labour force required. For a family, the non-capitalist options for obtaining a service are eroded, forcing a substitution of paid for unpaid labour to obtain the service. These conditions make women both available and attractive to fill this new labour demand. A similar analysis applies to development of the food and beverage industry.

Another example is the drawing on the female reserve for clerical and sales jobs over the last fifty years, as the process of deskilling has increasingly pushed these jobs into the SLM at the same time as their relative numerical importance in the overall labour force has grown. Originally the white female reserve was attractive because the level of education or social skills required tended to disqualify other members of the reserve. On the other hand, at the time when the expansion of capital was occurring mainly in heavy industry and infrastructure, male immigrants provided a more attractive labour reserve than women (Connelly, 1980, p.11).

It is not the intention of this paper to develop a full blown framework for understanding and predicting changes in the labour force involvement of women relative to other marginalized groups. This outline simply suggests one possible direction to pursue on this important issue, drawing together threads from segmentation work and from the growing body of work specifically on women's labour force experience. Detailed studies of particular eras, areas, and workplaces are needed to further understand the differential absorption of groups in the labour reserve into a labour process characterized by segmentation.

- (b) The family wage and the changing organization of the labour process

The second unanswered question relevant to understanding the labour force experience of women, which arises out of both feminist studies and segmentation studies, is the relationship of the "family wage" to the organization of labour demand. In segmentation work the unit of analysis is the individual. The implications of segmentation for families and the impact of patriarchal family structures on segmentation are little studied or understood. The PLM is generally thought of as the segment in which family wages are paid, and the SLM is excused in some quarters as being populated by wives and youth who are

not in need of family wages. Our review of the literature denies the latter point; however, it is still unclear how the development of segmentation relates to the historical relationship between family wages and multiples earner families. A lengthy feminist debate exists on the relationship of class struggle and patriarchy to the development of a family wage following the early days of capitalism when women and children were drawn into the workforce, and several family members had to labour in order for the family to survive.<sup>19</sup>

Connelly (1980) traces the historical development of the family wage in Canada following the separation under capitalism of the family functions of production and reproduction. She begins from the position that "with the family responsible for the new labour supply the cost can be spread over several members in a number of ways according to the changing conditions of the capitalist system" (p.6). She goes on to outline how the pattern has changed over time in the Canadian case. There was an early expectation that men should be able to earn a family wage, but most men did not, and younger family members typically supplemented the family income. Changing labour needs of capital, in terms of higher skills and "heavy" labour, coupled with the active patriarchal role of men through unions and legislation in excluding women from lucrative occupations, helped achieve



the dominance of the family wage, at least as an institution. This created the vicious circle whereby women's limited wage opportunities reinforced her dependence and the primacy of her domestic role and this subordination reinforced her labour market subordination.

Segmentation theory shows that family wages only became a reality in the PLM. These efforts of male workers to gain a decent family subsistence wage for themselves are linked with the development in the capital accumulation process of the monopoly sector/competitive sector split. The early action of men in trade unions to protect women and secure their own jobs from competition was part of the struggle over control of the labour process in the monopoly sector which contributed to the development of segmentation in labour markets. The result was monetary gains for some workers, but not for all; family wages for some men, but not for all. Wives and daughters were often left with fewer job options, worse job options, and the ever present option of intensifying domestic labour as a way to keep a family alive on a non-family wage.

Evidence from segmentation work and studies of women's labour force activity confirms that the married women working in the SLM are most likely to have husbands who are also in this segment (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978). This fact has yet to permeate the veil of myth

regarding "secondary" earners. Much work is still required on how the household does relate to segmented labour markets under changing conditions of demand and development. Clearly the combination of wage labour and domestic labour used to support and reproduce the labour force varies over the course of capitalist development. A British Royal Commission (1979, pp. 12-16) gives evidence that the dependency ratios have not changed over the course of capitalism, only the distribution among sex/age groups. More married women work now, men retire earlier, and fewer youth contribute to the family earnings. Unfortunately, the infinite permutations possible in terms of participation rates, or hours worked in the multi-earner family, do not have equal implications for family well-being, female independence, or the balance of power between capital and labour.

The previous discussion of differential generation and absorption of segments of the reserve labour supply bears on this issue also. As the latent reserve dries up with the continuing growth of the universal market, and the stagnant and floating reserves increase with the erosion of the PLM and the growth of the SLM, family wages are increasingly not earned by either sex. There are more multi-earner families because there are more bad jobs, limited access to good jobs, and decreasing ability to force

payment of family wages in this era of international capital mobility. This mobility may be enabling a major reorganization of the contours of the labour process, similar in significance to the earlier development of segmented labour markets whereby the institution of the family wage will be completely eroded. However, the complex interactions of factors is not at all clearly understood, and sweeping conclusions are certainly not in order. Analysis of these developments must include the implications for the reproduction of labour and the structure of the family. The contradictions in the need for women in both production and reproduction are particularly evident.

(c) Research directions

This paper has provided some background on existing work on the organization of the demand for labour, and how it changes over time. Attention has been drawn to some implications for understanding the position of women in the labour force. Attention has also been focused on the gaps which remain in our understanding. The issues are not new. Many of the questions are already being worked on. The intention has been to develop themes within which a broad range of research can make a contribution. The issues were selected because they are recurring gaps across a wide

field of research - in economics, sociology and history. Many people are working on small aspects of these issues and an umbrella research effort can help bring convergence. Empirical work suggested by this framework, as emphasized throughout the paper, is mainly detailed analysis of the allocation of jobs under varying conditions of capitalist development and organization of domestic labour. We need specific studies of the development of new technologies, and their effect on the organization of labour. We need community studies on the allocation of jobs to various groups in the reserve. We need analysis of the changing age/sex composition of earners in families over time. We need more studies of the distribution of the multiple-earners in families across the segmented labour market. Such studies will clarify the present trends in the labour force activity of women and will elucidate the avenues to change and the constraints we face today.



## Footnotes

1. The issue is how the political economy of reproduction and the political economy of production interact to determine women's role; to what extent does the domestic sphere or the labour force sphere have primacy, and what has been the historical pattern of joint development of women's role in both spheres. See, for example, Benston, 1969, Morton, 1972, Seccombe, 1974, Zaretsky, 1973, Rowbotham, 1976, Eisenstein, 1979.
2. Wienbaum, 1978, gives a detailed indictment of this, focusing particularly on the Marxian treatment of the "worker". She begins to build a framework using sex/age/household role distinctions among workers.
3. Good summaries of this type of work, and its limited usefulness to understanding the demand for female labour are found in Blau and Jusenius, 1976, and Stevenson, 1980.
4. For example, Braverman, 1974, chapter 17, and Rinehart, 1973, Chapters 3 and 5, analyze the expansion of the market and the increasing dependence on wage labour of women as well as men; however, their special relationship to the process due to family structures and the role of domestic labour is not directly analysed.
5. Hartmann and Markusen, 1980, and Wienbaum, 1978 discuss the Marxist feminist attempt to extend the orthodox Marxist analysis of the labour process, and the resistance it has encountered from Marxists.
6. See, for example, Piore, 1972 and Edwards, 1979.
7. See, for example Loveridge and Mok, 1979, for a review of European and American work, or Harrison and Sum, 1979 for North American references.
8. There is considerable debate concerning how closely labour market segments follow this powerful/powerless firm distinction, and it is generally agreed that though PLM jobs tend to be in corporate sector firms, many powerful corporate sector firms also operate in the SLM. See Clairmont, MacDonald and Wien, 1980, for a discussion of this.

9. There has been some attempt to absorb DLM theory into neoclassical economics (Cain, 1976). Neoclassical explanations of segmentation emphasize barriers to the smooth functioning of product and labour markets (such as unions, monopoly power, labour immobility) which enable a low wage sector and a high wage sector to persist. Within each wages are determined in a neoclassical manner based on the interaction of productivity factors (i.e. capital intensity, skill, cost of training and replacement) on the demand side, and labour supply conditions. The main characteristics perpetuating a SLM are thus low human capital requirements, with skill having an objective, technologically determined meaning, and conditions of excess labour supply in the external labour market.
10. See, for example, Hartmann, 1976, and Wienbaum, 1979.
11. Piore (1979b, p. 121) says of these same groups that they may share a ". . . foreshortened time perspective. The impact of the social status of the job upon the worker's self conception may also differ . . . from that of prime age native men."
12. There is historical evidence that groups (and regions) get elevated and demoted at different stages of capitalist development (Friedman, 1977; Bluestone and Harrison, 1980). As capital mobility increases, so does the speed with which these changes occur, particularly geographically.
13. In segmentation studies the terminology can become confusing. Competitive sector, SLM, periphery and marginal work world are used somewhat interchangeably, as are PLM, core, corporate (monopoly) sector and central work world. The reader should pay attention to the particular operationalization in evaluating empirical results and deciding upon the comparability of studies. Variations in how segments are operationalized in terms of industry and/or occupation and/or establishment also make the separation of sex-segregation and segmentation impacts problematic (Bridges, 1980).
14. For examples of detailed examinations of sex-typing of occupations, see Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974; Sangster, 1978; Strong-Boag, 1979; Margery Davies, "Woman's Place is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of Clerical Work", in Eisenstein (ed.), 1979.

15. Marxists argue that the present economic "crisis" is not merely cyclical but is the culmination of deep rooted structural problems and contradictions, and is part of a transition equivalent to the early twentieth century transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. An example of a cyclical trend which would fit both Marxist and Institutionalist frameworks is the changes in the organization of labour demand which accompany major wars.
16. Change which results from feminist struggle can also be added. However, the integration of feminist struggle into the analysis has rarely been attempted in segmentation work (MacDonald, 1979).
17. Although the reserve army concept is common to both feminist analysis and radical segmentation analysis, criticism has also been levied at these applications in terms of whether segmented/segregated labour markets negate the role and functioning of a reserve army and whether the reserve labour analysis of women is disproved by the recent dramatic increases in female labour force participation (Bruno, 1979; Bruegel, 1979). Without entering those debates, I begin my analysis from the position that the labour reserve is an integral part of the process of capital accumulation (created and required by capitalism), that its extent and form change historically, and that it becomes a point of struggle over who is in it.
18. As long as women are being drawn into the labour force to do SLM jobs they are still functioning as a labour reserve in this framework. The SLM suffers the full competitive impact of the unemployed reserve army, as described by Marx, and in turn acts as a reserve to the PLM over the longer term, even though individual jobs in the PLM may be protected from external labour market competition.
19. See, for example, Humphries, 1977; Hartmann, 1976; Zaretsky, 1973.

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VI

JOB CREATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT FOR CANADIAN WOMEN

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and

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## Job Creation and Unemployment for Canadian Women

In recent years, Canadian women have been flooding into the labour market, into employment and unemployment. While the steadily rising participation rate of women has been carefully documented and discussed, the more dramatic increase in the female unemployment rate has been largely ignored or dismissed as unimportant. To the extent that these patterns have been analyzed, the growing number of women searching for paid work has been explained primarily in terms of changing female aspirations and preferences and has been viewed by some as dangerous, as a threat to male employment. Too many women choosing to work (and, as a corollary, choosing not to have babies)<sup>1</sup> is often seen to be the main cause of the increase in both male and female unemployment. More effort has been directed toward dismissing women's unemployment as insignificant - because they do not need to work, because they are secondary workers, and because they claim unemployment primarily to gain eligibility for benefits - toward explaining away women's unemployment, than toward investigating the economic conditions which give rise to these massive changes in women's labour force behaviour.

In this paper, we argue that women's behaviour in the labour market should be understood in terms of structural factors rather than personal characteristics, in terms of women's economic needs and employer demands rather than individual skills and aspirations, in terms of employment opportunities rather than unemployment, in terms of jobs rather than people. Through an examination of recent trends in the labour force, in job creation and in income distribution, we argue that the growth in the number of women working<sup>2</sup> or looking for work can be explained primarily in terms of changing economic conditions. More of the jobs available are women's jobs and more women are searching for work because they need the money.

Labour Force Trends

In the last twenty years, Canadian women, like women in the United States, Australia and Sweden, have been steadily increasing their labour force participation. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's (1979, Table 12) comparison of data for nine countries, the Canadian female labour force participation rate had increased more since 1960 than that of any other country and by 1976 was the fourth highest, tied with Japan. In that year the female unemployment rate in Canada was second only to that of the United States and was almost two percentage points higher than the rate in France, the country with the third highest female unemployment rate. Compared to these eight other countries, then, an increasingly greater proportion of Canadian women searched for work but, with the sole exception of the U.S., a larger proportion failed to find jobs. This section of the paper examines these dramatic shifts in Canadian women's labour force behaviour; the final sections investigate the factors which contributed to these unprecedented changes in women's employment and unemployment.

Since 1946, Canadian women's participation rate has almost doubled, from 24.7 to 48.9 and their unemployment rate has more than tripled, from 2.4 to 8.8.<sup>3</sup> As Table 1 indicates, while just over a third of Canadian women were working or looking for work in 1966, almost half of them were doing so by 1979. Many more women entered the labour market but a growing proportion failed to find work. Although women's share of employment increased by 7 percentage points between 1966 and 1979, their share of unemployment increased by 14.3 percentage points. Almost one in ten of the women in the Canadian labour force experienced unemployment last year. Even the official unemployment figures (and it is clear that such data greatly underestimate the actual number of people who want work)<sup>4</sup> indicate that women have disproportionately suffered from unemployment.

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Insert Table 1 about here

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As Table 1 illustrates, in 1979 women constituted only 38.3% of the employed but they accounted for 46.1% of the unemployed. Moreover, the



frequency and duration of female unemployment has dramatically increased while the reverse pattern is evident for men (McIlveen & Sims, 1978, pp. 31-33). In 1979, 11.3% of unemployed males, as compared to 21.3% of the unemployed females had been without work for a year or more. By contrast, 35.0% of males unemployed had been without a job for less than three months at the time of the survey but this was true for only 26.0% of the unemployed women.<sup>5</sup>

That women's share of unemployment had increased more than their share of employment suggests that too many women entering the labour force are not, as many have argued, the only reason for the startling rise in female unemployment rates. The coincidence, as shown in Table 1, of the fluctuations in the female percentage of the unemployed and in the female unemployment rate, with the consistent rise in female labour force participation also suggest that women's rising labour force participation rate is not simply caused by too many women seeking work.

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Insert Table 2 about here

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Not only are more women unemployed but more of the employed fail to find full-time work. The full-time employment population ratio<sup>6</sup> given in Table 2 indicates that only one out of every three Canadian women over fifteen years of age found full-time employment in 1979. Almost one in four women who worked was employed part-time. By the end of the period covered in Table 1, more women were working, many more women were unemployed and more of the employed were employed part-time.

While an examination of women's employment and unemployment rates reveals a dramatic change in their labour force experience, the data on the industrial and occupational allocation of women expose a depressing consistency over time in the segregation of women into a limited number of jobs. They also indicate how limited is the extent to which women threaten male employment.

### Men's Jobs

Women's rising labour force participation rate has been considered dangerous, in part at least, because it is feared that women cause the

real unemployment, the unemployment of 'prime age' males'. (Women, it seems, are never in their prime, at least not in economic terms.) The basic assumption of this argument may of course be challenged. Little evidence has been produced to show that men have a prior claim to any job. If the jobs are male by virtue of some unique male physical or mental capacity, women would not be able to take them away. If they are male by virtue of men's sole financial responsibility for spouses and/or children, then only one-quarter of male workers qualify<sup>8</sup> and many women would meet this criterion.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, it is difficult to understand how single men would be more eligible by this criterion than single women.

Even if the logic of this argument is left unchallenged, however, it is clear that women, for the most part, are not taking jobs away from men. They are employed and unemployed in different industries and occupations.

In our initial study of women's labour force participation (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1975) and later in The Double Ghetto (1978), we used Census data to show that men and women do different jobs in the labour market. Between 1941 and 1971 men and women were concentrated in different occupations and in different industries. Later research (Connelly, 1978; Gunderson, 1976; Lautard, 1976; Nakamura et al., 1979) found the same patterns of segregation. Almost two-thirds of the female labour force works in just 20 of the 500 occupational categories used in the Census. However, just over a third of male workers are employed in the 20 jobs with the most men. On the other hand, almost half the men in the labour force work in occupations which together employ less than five per cent of the women who work. Women are overwhelmingly concentrated in jobs where the majority of workers are female. Moreover, since 1941, some women have replaced men as janitors, waiters and telephone operators. Some men have replaced women as teachers and nurses - the only two professional jobs which account for a large number of women. The Census data do not suggest that women are taking good jobs away from men.

Unfortunately, Canada does a full Census only every ten years. The next one will be carried out in 1981 and the results will not be available for several years after that. The monthly Labour Force Survey does provide more current data but the broad categories made necessary by the sample survey techniques make detailed analysis impossible. Some limited analysis is however possible on the basis of this more current sample data.<sup>10</sup>

In our previous work we introduced two ways of measuring sex segregation. The degree of sex typing is measured by calculating the percentage of all workers in an industry or occupation who are female. The degree of female concentration is measured by calculating the percentage of all female workers who are employed in an industry or occupation. By making these calculations for the labour force survey data on employment and unemployment by industry and occupation, it is possible to get some idea of the extent to which men and women compete with each other for work.

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Insert Table 3 about here

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Not surprisingly, the annual averages for 1979 show patterns of industrial sex segregation similar to those revealed in the Census data. As Table 3 shows, women are more highly concentrated in the tertiary or service producing sector. Although over eighty per cent of all female workers are employed in the tertiary sector, less than sixty per cent of male workers are found in this sector. And within this sector, women are more highly concentrated than men in the service and trade industries, as 62.6% of the women but only 35.2% of the men are employed here. In the goods producing sectors, women constitute more than a quarter of the workers only in manufacturing. Ninety per cent of the workers are male in five of the seven primary industries. As in the Census, further detail would probably reveal even greater segregation than is evident from the broad categories given here. This supposition is supported, for example, by other data sources such as the Statistics Canada publication Employment, Earnings and Hours, which indicates that women accounted for three-quarters of the workers in clothing manufacturing but less than ten per cent of the workers in wood products last year.

Women's unemployment is also concentrated in these industries. Over two-thirds of unemployed women are seeking jobs in the tertiary sector, with over half in trade and in service. But less than half of the unemployed males are seeking jobs in the tertiary sector. Forty-one per cent of the unemployed males are in the secondary sector, while only 16.6% of unemployed females are looking for work in the industries of this sector.



Furthermore, although a third of all male workers are employed in these industries, only fifteen per cent of females work here and most of them are in manufacturing.

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Insert Table 4 about here

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The occupational divisions given in Table 4 reveal more clearly the limited competition between males and females. Over three fifths (62.6%) of all female workers are in just three different jobs—clerical, sales and service. These occupations account for less than thirty (26.4) per cent of all male workers. Unemployed women are also concentrated in these occupational groups. Well over half (57.4%) of unemployed women and less than one-quarter (23.9%) of unemployed men are seeking work in these occupations. Over a third of male unemployment is found in the construction, transportation, and materials handling and other crafts occupations, where very few women (about 3% in total) are either employed or unemployed. Once again, greater detail would reveal greater segregation. For instance, some more detail is available on male unemployment in occupations where there are too few women unemployed to get reliable Labour Force Survey figures. These male occupations — the natural sciences; fishing, hunting and trapping; forestry and logging; and mining and quarrying — account for an additional 7% of male unemployment. And from other sources (see Armstrong & Armstrong, 1978, chap. 2), we know that within the Labour Force Survey occupational categories, women and men tend to have and to seek different jobs. For example, the women in the teaching category are concentrated at the elementary level, while in medicine and health they are much more likely to be nurses, technicians and therapists rather than doctors, and in the managerial and administrative category they are much more likely to manage small boutiques and cosmetic counters than large department stores. Women, for the most part, are not taking jobs away from men. Men and women tend to be employed and unemployed in different occupations and industries.

The data on part-time employment also suggest that women and men do not often compete for jobs. Although these data are crude, they do give some indication of the sex segregation in full-time and part-time work.<sup>11</sup> In 1979, two and a half times as many women as men worked part-time. A



quarter (23.3 %) of women as compared to six (5.8) per cent of the men worked part-time. Over seventy (71.9) per cent of the part-time workers are women.<sup>12</sup>

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Insert Table 5 about here

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As Table 5 shows, almost ninety per cent of the women and three-quarters of the men who work part-time are employed in the tertiary industries. Within this sector, they are again concentrated in the trade and service industries. Two-thirds (66.3%) of the men and four-fifths (79.8%) of the women who are employed part-time work in these industries. It is however only in trade that men and women working part-time are relatively equally concentrated, and this industry accounts for less than one-third of part-time work. While just over half of all women who work part-time are employed in the service industry, only one-third of male part-time workers have jobs in this industry and over 45% of all part-time work is in this category. Similar patterns of segregation appear in the other industries. Furthermore, women are much more likely than men to work part-time in most industrial sectors. More than one in three women in agriculture and trade, more than one in four women in construction and service work part-time.

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Insert Table 6 about here

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The occupational data given in Table 6 also indicate that there is segregation in part-time work. Over two-thirds (67.1%) of all part-time jobs are in clerical, sales and service occupations. While men and women working part-time are relatively equally concentrated in sales and service, it should be remembered that, as Table 4 shows, 62.6% of women but only 26.4% of the men work in these three occupations. More than one in three of the women who work in sales, service, primary occupations and transportation work part-time. Although men and women usually work part-time in different occupations and while sex segregation and concentration is more likely to encourage competition amongst women rather than between the sexes, the data do suggest that men and women may be seeking the same part-time

work in sales and service jobs. But here too greater detail may reveal segregation within these broad categories which would mitigate against women taking part-time jobs from men. For example, in trade occupations, women are more likely to be barbers while men carry out the groceries, to sell women's underwear rather than household appliances.

The Labour Force Survey data reaffirm the patterns evident in the Census data. There are men's jobs. There are women's jobs. Many more women are working but most continue to work in female jobs and in jobs that are part-time. These patterns of segregation suggest that the great influx of women into the labour force has not put many men out of work. They also suggest that the dramatic rise in female labour force participation may be related to the occupational structure, to the creation of more women's jobs.

#### Job Creation

Not only are more women entering the labour force but women are also getting more of the jobs. Since men and women are, for the most part, employed and unemployed in different industries and occupations, it seems likely then that more of the employment opportunities are in areas where women have traditionally been employed. Although an analysis of a long historical period would be useful, the data are difficult to obtain due to fundamental changes made to the Labour Force Survey in 1975. However, an examination of the jobs available in 1979, compared to those available in 1975, provides some indication of the growth in demand for workers, for particular kinds of workers.

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Insert Table 7 about here

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Canada has, like the United States, not only a high female unemployment rate but also a high concentration of workers in the tertiary sector. There were 1,085,000 more jobs in Canada in 1979 than there were in 1975 but, as Table 7 indicates, almost three quarters (73.5%) of these were in the tertiary sector. Within the secondary sector most (18.3% of all job creation) new jobs were in the manufacturing industry rather than in construction.

Within the tertiary sector, more than half (54.5%) of all new jobs were in trade and service. More than one in two jobs created between 1975 and 1979 were in these two industrial sectors.

Women flooded into all sectors. They took over two-thirds of the jobs created in trade; finance, insurance and real estate; service; and public administration. Men were hired for the majority of jobs in primary industries; manufacturing; construction; and transportation, communications and utilities (the only industry in the tertiary sector where they captured the majority of new jobs). But the most important sectors in job creation terms were those in which women were already highly concentrated. Trade, where almost one out of every five women (18.9%) work, grew by 168,000 jobs with close to seventy (69.6%) per cent of these jobs going to women. The service sector, where over forty (43.7%) per cent of female workers are concentrated, grew by 423,000 jobs and sixty-five per cent of these went to women. More than half of the additional job opportunities were in these two industrial sectors where more than three out of five (62.6%) women work. Moreover, 61.2 per cent of women taking new jobs worked in these two sectors. The other sector which women dominate, finance, insurance and real estate, grew by 79,000 positions, 72.2% of which went to women.

The picture is different for men. In the primary sector, in construction and in transportation, communications and other utilities, in the sectors which men dominate, there was little growth but men did capture most of the new jobs available. In other areas where men are found in large numbers, namely manufacturing, trade, and public administration, there was a greater increase in employment opportunities but these are also industrial sectors which have traditionally hired a relatively higher proportion of women. In other words, most of the new jobs are available in female job ghettos.

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Insert Table 8 about here

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As Table 8 indicates, a similar pattern is evident when the data on job creation are broken down by occupation. Women are found mainly in white collar occupations (68.8% of all female workers) and over half (51.8%)



of all new jobs are in these occupations. Within the white collar group, the least growth was in the sales area which has a high concentration of male workers. Within the blue collar sector, the largest proportion of new jobs were created in the service occupations, where women constitute more than half the workers. The only area where men predominate that experienced a large growth was processing and men were hired for over three-quarters of these new jobs.

Again, women moved into almost all occupations. However, although the largest growth in the white collar sector was in managerial, technical and professional occupations, women were hired for a smaller percentage of jobs in these occupations than they were in other white collar jobs. Women were hired for only a minority of new jobs in the managerial, technical and professional category while they dominated the growth in clerical and sales as well as service jobs. Sixty per cent of the jobs created for women were in sales, service and clerical occupations, among the lowest paid and least rewarding female work.

Although historical data on part-time job creation by industry and occupation and by sex are not directly available, it is possible by comparing Table 5 with Table 7 and Table 6 with Table 8 to gain a sense of the relationship between part-time work and job creation. The significance of this comparison lies in the facts, suggested by Table 2 above, that not only has there been a sharp rise in the share of jobs that are part-time, but that women have filled almost four-fifths of these new part-time jobs.

The jobs have been created in the industries and occupations where both part-time work and female workers are most prevalent. Fully three-quarters (75.9%) of the part-time work is in the trade and service industries where, as we have already seen, three out of five women work. By contrast, men predominate in those industries with the least part-time work. Only in trade do a high concentration of men and part-time work coincide. A similar picture emerges in the occupational structure, where both part-time work and job creation have been relatively strong in the clerical and service occupations dominated by women. Aside from services, men make up a significant component of part-time workers (over one-quarter) only in occupations with little or no job creation for men between 1975 and 1979. In fact, in



the most important such occupation for male part-time jobs, sales, the overall number of male workers actually declined during this period. Meanwhile, the most important for male job creation, processing, is over 98% full-time for men. More of the jobs are part-time, more of the part-time jobs are in industries and occupations dominated by female workers, and more women take this part-time work.

Once again, the crude data available from the Labour Force Survey do not permit detailed analysis of these new jobs. However, given the evidence of segregation from the last Census, there is every reason to believe that the next Census in 1981 will confirm the argument presented here. It seems likely, on the basis of the data that are available, that more of the new jobs are secondary in terms of pay, working conditions and job security, that more of the jobs are women's jobs.

The data presented here also do not permit the testing of another hypothesis related to technology and skill levels. However, as Braverman (1974) and others (Baker, 1964; Zimbalist, 1979) have suggested, the introduction of new technology often breaks down the work into repetitive tasks which require little skill, training and strength, into women's work. At the beginning of the industrial revolution, machines encouraged employers to hire the cheaper labour of women and children. It may be happening again. As Brecher (1979, p. 226) points out in his study of the electrical products industry, "The degradation of jobs has been intimately connected with the allocation of male and female labor. Where possible, employers have been eager to break down jobs into lower paid 'women's work'". More women may be getting jobs in areas where technology has limited the skill, training and time required. And these jobs themselves are insecure, since they too may be completely automated. The new word processing equipment so eloquently and frequently advertised as lowering employer costs and as providing relief from dull repetitive tasks may contribute to even higher unemployment rates for women. Only further, more detailed analysis can test this hypothesis.

Whatever the role of technology, it is clear that more women are employed, that more are employed at the kinds of jobs that have traditionally been women's work, that more of these jobs are part-time and that more of the new jobs are women's jobs.

Unemployment

Although there was a large number of jobs to be filled in 1979 as compared with 1975, there was not enough work for the rapidly increasing number of women seeking labour force employment. While the female share of unemployment growth was somewhat lower than their share of jobs created during this period (53.3% as against 59.1%), it was much higher than their 1979 shares of either jobs (38.8%) or classified unemployment (43.9%).

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Insert Table 9 about here

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As Table 9 indicates, between 1975 and 1979 unemployment growth, like job creation, was concentrated in the tertiary industrial sector. Over eighty per cent of the increase in unemployment was found in this sector, and close to two-thirds (65.1%) was concentrated in the trade and service industries alone. Women accounted for 55.2% of the unemployment growth in trade and 64.2% in service. The only industry dominated (numerically) by women that contributed a relatively low share of unemployment growth was finance, insurance and real estate. This was also the sole industry in which the female share of unemployment growth was lower than their 1979 share of jobs.

By contrast, in agriculture, other primary, manufacturing and transportation, all areas dominated by men, the share of the unemployment increase was even less than that in finance, insurance and real estate. More than twenty per cent of the increase in unemployment did come in two other industries where men are concentrated and where they constitute the majority of workers, namely construction and public administration. While men bore most of the brunt of the unemployment increase in construction, women came close to sharing equally the growth in public administration unemployment. For the most part, new employment and new unemployment are concentrated in the same industrial sectors, in female job ghettos.

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Insert Table 10 about here

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As Table 10 shows, when the data are broken down by occupation, the unemployment pattern is quite different from that revealed in job creation. While over half the new jobs created were white collar jobs, less than 40% of the increase in unemployment fell within this group of occupations. However, over one half of the female increase was for women seeking white collar work. One-third of the growth in female unemployment was concentrated in clerical jobs. All of the increase in clerical unemployment was female and women bore most of the unemployment burden in managerial, professional and technical work. Over 70% of the increase in white collar unemployment was experienced by women.

Blue collar work, which accounted for three-fifths of the increase in unemployment, is usually considered a male domain, but even here over half (32.5% of 60.9%) of the unemployment growth was concentrated in service occupations, where women constitute the majority of workers and where they experienced 65.5% of the increase in unemployment. In fact, 71.6% of the growth in overall unemployment, and 93.3% of the growth in female unemployment, was concentrated in the white collar and service occupations taken together. The rest of the occupations, while dominated by men in terms of the growth in both employment and unemployment, accounted for only 29.4% of the overall increase in employment and for only 28.4% of that in unemployment between 1975 and 1979.

The examination of unemployment reveals that while the demand for female workers has grown, more women are responding to this demand than can be absorbed into the traditional female industries and occupations. More women have been hired, but more women are also in competition with each other within the female job ghettos.

#### Economic Need

An examination of the jobs available indicates the demand side of the equation; it does not explain supply, or even surplus labour. To argue that more of the jobs are women's jobs does not explain why women take these jobs or why a growing proportion of women are unemployed. While personal characteristics such as age, marital status, education, and values are clearly



important factors in women's labour force participation, economic need is the primary motivation for most women's job search. Most women are employed or unemployed because more of them need the money.

That most women, like most men, work because they require the income is not widely accepted in Canada. Indeed, some economists and politicians have argued that women, particularly married women, do not need to work and thus their employment, and especially their unemployment, may be dismissed as unimportant, as a matter of choice which has little consequence in terms of economic hardship. The argument assumes that most women have 'prime age' males to support them and that these males are the people who need the work, who need the income. Although it is clear that jobs in Canada are not allocated on the basis of economic need (if economic need were the criterion, then many of these same politicians and economists would have difficulty justifying their right to work), there is ample evidence that many women rely heavily on their earning capacity for financial support.

Approximately 30% of the female labour force is single. It is difficult to determine what proportion of these women could rely on a 'prime age' male for support but, in 1979, 60% of these women were 20 years of age and over.<sup>13</sup> Surely it can be assumed that the overwhelming majority of these women depend on their labour force incomes and not their fathers for support. The dramatic decline since World War II in the labour force participation of young women suggests that most of those who can rely on others for financial assistance do so, and therefore stay out of the labour force.

Almost 10% of the female labour force is separated, widowed or divorced. Some of these women may be provided for by 'real' workers, but Boyd's (1977, p. 56) research indicates that employment was the major source of 1979 income for nearly three-quarters of divorced women and one-half of the separated women. The National Council of Welfare (1979, p. 12) argues that:

When the labor force status of poor and non-poor single-parent mothers is compared, it becomes clear that paid employment is the main factor preventing the better-off ones from succumbing to poverty.

This study (National Council of Welfare, 1979, p. 7) also shows that "Widows and other formerly married women living alone are most likely to be poor:



54% have incomes below the poverty line" Those who are not poor escape poverty mainly through employment. Economic need is a primary factor in the labour force participation of 'other' women.

The other 60.0% of the female labour force is married. The movement of married women into the labour force accounted for 61.7% of the increase in female participation rates, and the financial requirements of these women who are assumed to have men to support them is more open to question. That married women's labour force participation is rising in spite of their poor job opportunities and low wages, in spite of the scarcity and quality of day care facilities,<sup>14</sup> in spite of the double burden of two jobs, in itself suggests that they need to work, that they need the money. There is however more direct evidence of the growth in their income requirements. According to the National Council of Welfare (1979, Table 3), there would be a 51% increase in the number of poor families in Canada if the wife had no earnings. Women's jobs often make the difference between low income and an adequate standard of living. For example, "only one out of every three low-income wives under the age of 65 holds a paid job, compared to more than half of the better-off married women" (National Council of Welfare, 1979, p. 9). Many of these families would be able to survive without the woman's earnings but survival would be the appropriate word.

As we argued in The Double Ghetto (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1978, Chapter 6) and as MacLeod and Horner (1980) have shown through their computer simulations, women's income is the primary way that low and middle income families have stabilized their living standard and prevented a relative decline. In 1978, 57.4% of families with two income earners have more than \$20,000 a year to live on. Less than half that proportion (26.4%) of families with only one member working for pay earn more than \$20,000 a year.<sup>15</sup> According to MacLeod and Horner (1980, p. 10):

The net effect of the increased labour force participation of married women on the distribution of income for all family units has been to reduce the level of inequality.

Without the additional income from the wife's earnings, inequality would increase.

Furthermore, the increasing male unemployment rate and rising inflation may make the married women's employment income crucial for survival. The

National Council of Welfare (1979, p. 10) shows that:

While about ~~three-quarters~~ of non-poor husbands of all ages are employed on a full-time, full-year basis, less than a third of low-income husbands are. In addition to these working poor whose full-time jobs pay them less than a poverty line wage, another fifth of low-income husbands have occasional, part-time or seasonal employment that does not adequately support their families.

Foyd's (1977, p. 55) research indicates that over 40% of married women rely on employment as their major source of income. Ostry (1968b), Spencer and Featherstone (1970), Skoulas (1974) and Nakamura et al. (1979) have all found a strong negative relationship between the husband's income and the wife's employment. The lower a husband's income, the more likely the wife's labour force participation. Economic need encourages most women, and men, to enter the labour force.

Not only increasing unemployment but also falling wages may make it difficult to survive without more than one income earner, especially given today's rising standards and sharply rising prices for the most necessary of commodities. While overall figures on wage rates often indicate an increase in real personal incomes, these figures may camouflage the inequality evident when the data are analyzed in greater detail. In their analysis of the occupational structure of earnings in Canada, Meltz and Stager (1979, p. 122) found that "Employees generally display a pattern of either no change or a decline in relative earnings from 1970 to 1975." Moreover, when the percentage increase in wages is broken down by industry, it is clear that the smallest percentage increases in wages between 1975 and 1978 were in precisely those industries (service and trade) which grew the most in job creation terms.<sup>16</sup> In other words, more of the jobs available were in lower paid, absolutely and relatively, sectors, thus increasing the need of many families for additional income.

And women's financial requirements also encourage them to stay in the labour force even when they cannot find work. They become part of the unemployed. A decade ago, Ostry (1968b, p. 7) argued that there were low female unemployment rates in Canada because women here were "less likely to

remain in the market looking for work, but instead return to some non-labour force activity."<sup>17</sup> Now Canadian women are staying in the labour force, in part at least, because their economic needs are even more pressing.

Approximately 45% of unemployed women are single, separated, widowed or divorced. It has already been argued that most of these women rely primarily on their own earnings for support. Thus it can be assumed that most would suffer financially when unemployed. But what about the 55% of unemployed women who are married?<sup>18</sup> In their study of married women's employment and earnings, Nakamura et al. (1979, p. 17) argue that:

the 1970 average employment incomes of the husbands of unemployed wives were lower than the averages for the husbands both of wives who were not in the market labour force and of those who were working. Moreover, the average family asset incomes for wives at least 35 years of age, and the average per person family incomes (excluding the earnings of the wife) for wives at least thirty years of age were also lowest for unemployed wives. Thus we find that, whatever the personal motivations for these wives for seeking work, there is an obvious need in their families for additional income.

Like unemployed single and 'other' women, married women cannot afford to disappear.

There is also evidence to show that unemployment insurance benefits go primarily to those who need the money. In 1973, 77% of total benefit expenditures went to individuals earning \$6,000 a year or less (Unemployment Insurance Commission, 1977, p. H-14). Families whose combined yearly incomes totaled less than \$10,000 received 58% of all benefits (Unemployment Insurance Commission, 1977, p. H-20). Furthermore, two-thirds of the families who received benefits and earned more than \$10,000 a year had two or more income earners and were net contributors to the programme (Unemployment Insurance Commission, 1979, p.H-22). Most unemployed women, like most employed women, are in the labour force because they need the money.



Unemployment Insurance

Because it is often assumed that women do not need to work, it is frequently argued that women illegitimately collect unemployment insurance benefits. And the translation of these arguments into policy then creates hardship for the majority of women who need the money. Most of the arguments ignore or downplay the fact that this is an insurance scheme that people contribute to on the basis of employment and have a right to collect if they qualify, regardless of age or sex. But the attack on women as abusers appears to be primarily related to their right to collect unemployment insurance when they have another job at home and, it is assumed, men to support them.

In People and Jobs, the Economic Council of Canada (1976, p. 152) argues that "The increase in benefits had provided some disincentive to search for gainful employment or, more precisely, to remain idle voluntarily, particularly for women." Green and Cousineau (1976, p. 112), in their study of unemployment in Canada, are suspicious that "where there is more than one earner in the family, some of what appears to be unemployment is really the enjoyment of leisure or the participation in non-labour market work activities." It is clear from their preceding discussion that those they primarily suspect are married women. Little evidence has been produced however to prove that women who do not qualify under the Act collect benefits. Recent amendments to the legislation suggest just the opposite. In order to prevent women from qualifying, the regulations had to be changed.

Under this amended version of the Unemployment Insurance Act, employers and employees contribute equal shares while the Federal Government pays only when unemployment rates are excessive—and more and more unemployment is considered normal. Benefits are related to weeks worked, to earnings, and by a complicated formula, partially to regional unemployment. Benefits have been reduced from 66.7% of average earnings to 60% (maximum \$159 a week) for everyone, regardless of dependents. As the combination of taxable benefits and deductible contributions still holds, a more regressive aspect of the plan has been retained but some repayment is required from those



with high net annual incomes. Claimants must now work longer-10 to 14 weeks depending on regional unemployment rates-before they become eligible for benefits. In order to discourage people from entering the labour force to become eligible for unemployment insurance, an additional fourteen weeks of insurable employment is required from "new entrants", or those working at the first job they have had in the last 52 weeks. In order to discourage voluntary quits, up to six weeks may be added to the normal two-week waiting period if an employee resigns without what the Unemployment Insurance Commission officer considers just cause. In order to discourage "repeaters", or people who claim benefits more than once, a claimant has to work up to six weeks longer than is necessary for the first claim. In order to eliminate people who are "not fully committed to the labour force", new regulations disqualify anyone who has either not worked at least 20 hours a week or not earned at least 40% of the maximum insurable earnings.<sup>19</sup> Since women are more likely to be short term, part-time and new workers, these new amendments are more likely to disqualify women (and young people) than prime age males.

Although it is difficult to obtain accurate historical data on women collecting benefits, there is other evidence, in addition to the changes in the regulations, that indicates women legitimately receive unemployment insurance. Schwartzman (1978), a former employee of the Unemployment Insurance Commission, claims that benefit officers are expected to cut off between 40 and 60% of the people they interview. Married women and young men are subject to particularly close scrutiny because they are thought to be in the high abuse category. The Comprehensive Review of the Unemployment Insurance Programme (1977, p. C-14) found that "Females have a significantly higher incidence of disqualification and disentitlement than males, regardless of insured weeks and dependency status". Given that women face closer scrutiny and more rigid requirements than men, this higher disqualification rate is likely to be more a result of discrimination against women than proof of abuse. In any case, the high rate of disqualification clearly suggests that those women who do manage to collect benefits do so legitimately.

There is also evidence to suggest that women and young people do not

receive their share of unemployment insurance. According to the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto (1978, p. 12):

A comparison of the unemployment insurance claimant file with the official unemployment figures shows that young people and women significantly underuse the program, both in proportion to their numbers officially unemployed and in relation to older groups and women.

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Insert Table 11 about here

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Table 11 dramatically illustrates this underuse. Columns 1 and 2, compiled by Statistics Canada to indicate the use of the unemployment insurance programme, suggests that young people and women receive more than their share of benefits. However, the addition of column 3 clearly shows that people under 25 and women over 25 are not getting their share of the insurance payments. While these groups constituted two-thirds of the unemployed in 1972, they received only half the benefits. By 1976, the gap had narrowed only slightly.

In addition, women receive less money if their claims are deemed legitimate. In 1970, women had an unemployment rate higher than that of men yet they received less than 30% of the total amount paid in benefits.<sup>20</sup> Although over one-half of the male unemployment insurance beneficiaries draw benefits which exceed the minimum wage in their province, this is the case for only one-tenth of the females (Economic Council of Canada, 1976, p. 21). Some, but not all, of this difference may be accounted for by the lower amounts paid to women because their wages are lower than male wages. However, some difference must result from women not claiming their legitimate payments.

Women do constitute a relatively high proportion, 46%, of those who voluntarily quit their jobs without just cause. But only "10-15% of those who quit with and without just cause file a claim for Unemployment Insurance" (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1979, p. 2). Furthermore, voluntary quits without just cause account for only 7.5% of the total insurance claim load (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1979, Table 1). Clearly few women are quitting their jobs in order to receive unemployment insurance benefits.

There is little evidence that women illegitimately receive unemployment insurance, that their high rates of unemployment reflect primarily a desire to collect benefits rather than a desire to work. Estimates of "insurance induced" unemployment for all workers, not only women, range from zero to one per cent of the labour force (Unemployment Insurance Commission, 1977, p. E-13). Even if the higher estimate is accepted, many women are still left 'legitimately' unemployed. In 1978, the last year the state collected data on job vacancies, there were 21 people unemployed for every job vacancy. More women are entering the labour market because they need the money and therefore, when they become unemployed because there are not enough jobs available, they collect unemployment insurance in order to satisfy their economic requirements.

### Secondary Workers

Part of the reason that women's unemployment has been dismissed as insignificant or largely ignored, and part of the assumption that women do not need to work, is the classification of women as secondary workers. Women are repeatedly described, in Canada and elsewhere, as secondary workers, but the meaning of the terms is unclear. In a Statistics Canada publication, Buckley (1973, p. 7) says that:

The usual definition is based on the regularity of attachment to the labour force so that the secondary worker is typically a student or a housewife who normally or regularly switches back and forth between labour force and non-labour force activities. In popular usage, the reference to secondary workers often seems to have a broader connotation (possibly confused with secondary earner) taking in all married women who work and sometimes, young persons who have left school but still live at home.

According to this frequently used broader definition, all married women and most young people are secondary workers and all men over the age of 25 are primary workers. Sex, age, and marital status seem to be the criteria for classification as primary or secondary workers, yet there appears to be little indication of why such a distinction is necessary, particularly when



it is somewhat denigrating to those classed as secondary. It does not seem to refer to the importance of the job to the employer or to the economy as a whole, since it would be difficult to explain the neat fit between males of a certain age and important jobs or the fact that, by this definition, less than half the workers in the labour force are primary. Nor does it identify those who bear sole financial responsibility for their families since, as we have seen already, only about a quarter of Canadian males would fit this definition and many women would qualify.

The only way the distinction makes sense is in terms of jobs. Jobs are not primary and secondary in terms of their importance to the employer and the employee<sup>21</sup> but in terms of pay, prestige, working conditions, job security and future opportunities. And while there is not a precise fit between women and these jobs, it is clear that women and young people are disproportionately slotted into jobs that are secondary in these terms. It is not the workers but the jobs that are secondary.

But, as Buckley's definition indicates, the distinction implies that women are secondary workers because they move in and out of the labour force, because they work sometimes and part-time, because they lack commitment and because they earn less than men. And it also implies that these patterns reflect the choices of women. The evidence that is available however indicates that, to the extent that these patterns exist, they are at least as much a result of the nature of the jobs available as they are a reflection of women's preferences and attitudes.

The information on the continuity of female employment is contradictory and limited. In responding to a questionnaire from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Sangster (1973 p. 30) reported that "Recent Canadian data on this subject suggest that the proportion of women in the labour force who usually work full-year (51 weeks or more) is only slightly lower than the corresponding male proportion (77.7 per cent vs 80.9 per cent)". He goes on (1973, p. 34) to say that, while we do not report general turnover rates in Canada, the specific studies that have been done indicate little difference in male and female separation rates, especially in what are defined here as secondary jobs. But other studies, for example Nakamura et al. (1979, p. 99) suggest that women are increasingly working less than 40 weeks per year.



It is difficult, therefore, to tell if women are more irregular employees than men. There is evidence that women are as likely as men to stay in the same job for 10 years or less but the percentage of women, as compared to men, who stay in the same job for longer periods of time steadily declines.<sup>22</sup> The data for job tenure by occupation also indicate that, while the percentage of men who have been in the same occupation for over five years is consistently higher than the percentage of females, women stay as long in the same jobs as men. The lowest years of job tenure for both men and women are in service and sales occupations. The highest years of job tenure for both sexes are in managerial and professional jobs.<sup>23</sup> While these data do seem to suggest that women have a higher turnover rate than men, it should be remembered that many women have entered the labour force relatively recently. In addition, as The Canadian Department of Labour (1960, p. 32) has pointed out, "The proportion of continuous workers is greatest in occupations of the highest socio-economic class" but women are seldom found in these jobs. Furthermore, the data presented here support the Department's (1960, p. 20) contention that women are less likely to change jobs "if the occupation is managerial, professional or clerical than if it is commercial, factory or service". Like men, women are more likely to stay in the good jobs and to leave the ones that offer little.

Women are however more likely than men to have secondary jobs, and the jobs they do have are unlikely to encourage commitment. The sex segregation in the labour market, combined with women's later entry into the labour force, go a long way towards explaining the discontinuity in female work patterns that do exist. Much of the remaining explanation comes from the lack of alternatives to women's other job at home.<sup>24</sup> The jobs, both those in the market and those at home, produce interrupted work patterns.

Over 40% of all women who experience discontinuity in employment do so because they were laid off or their jobs disappeared.<sup>25</sup> Women are not only in jobs that are discontinued, they are often the first fired. As Gunderson (1976, p. 104) points out, "Not having invested much in their female workers, firms are not concerned about losing them permanently should they be laid off in a recession". It is also easier to fire women because they are less likely than men to be unionized<sup>26</sup> and because they frequently have little seniority. Thus, discontinuity may become self-

perpetuating for women: less job continuity producing less job continuity.

It has also been suggested that women's higher turnover rate results from their lack of commitment to the labour force. In a study of work values sponsored by Manpower and Immigration, Burstein et al. (1975, p. 54) found

no difference between the sexes in the degrees of commitment and loyalty the self-defined employed felt to their jobs and their employers. Both described themselves as equally conscientious, prompt, and attentive employees.

Although the study also found that women were less ready than men to make a long term commitment to their job, they also found that, over time, women were less inclined both than men and than women at an earlier period to agree that they fit their job (Burstein et al., 1975, p. 55). Marchak's (1973, p. 95) research on white collar workers in British Columbia and Archibald's (1970, p. 95) study of public servants show that women plan to stay in or return to their jobs. Available data (MacDonald, 1978) indicates that women are less likely than men to leave their jobs because of dissatisfaction. Furthermore, they are less likely than men to benefit from sticking to their jobs (Archibald, 1970, p. 95) and therefore have less to gain from remaining in the same job. Women's jobs and their work experience may not encourage commitment.

That the overwhelming majority of part-time workers are women is also used as an indication of their secondary status. As we have already seen, more of the jobs available are part-time. Many employers rely on part-time workers, save money by doing so and would have difficulty replacing them with more expensive full-time workers. Women take these jobs because that is the work available to them and because their work at home may make it difficult for them to participate full-time in the labour force. Given the paucity and expense of child-care, after school, lunch hour and summertime facilities for children, it is not surprising that many women take these part-time jobs. One third (32.7% in 1979, up from 30.1% in 1975) of Canadian women selected 'could only find part-time work' or 'personal and family responsibilities' (out of five possible responses) as their reason for working less than 30 hours a week. Less than half (43.3% in 1979, down from 45.9% in 1975) indicated that they did not want full-time work and here the absence

of a subsequent question on reasons for not wanting full-time work may conceal additional structural factors limiting choice.<sup>27</sup> The same is true for the fifth of women who selected the 'going to school' response since many may be attending education institutions because they can find only part-time work.

When women do take these part-time jobs, they are likely to make a full commitment to the work. One in three (34.4%) part-time employees has been in the same job for one to five years and more than one in five (21.2%) has been in the same part-time job for five years or more.<sup>28</sup> Since the overwhelming majority of part-time workers are women, we can assume that most women stay with their part-time work. Most employers hire women part-time because they save money by doing so at the same time as they get experienced employees to whom the employers have little long term commitment. Many women prefer part-time work but most have little choice.

This leads directly to the final factor relegating women to secondary worker status, women's wages. Women are secondary workers if this means that they earn less than men. Women are paid less than men even when they perform similar tasks. According to the Economic Council of Canada (1976, pp. 106-107), women are "overconcentrated in low-paying and underrepresented in high-paying industries. Similarly they are overrepresented in the least organized sectors and underrepresented in those that are organized". But Ostry (1968b, p. 45) argues that, even when this segregation is taken into account, there remains a sizable pay gap between male and female workers. While Nakamura et al. (1979, chap. 4) would quarrel with the argument based on female segregation, they do state that:

The average woman earns less than the average for all wage earners (men and women taken together) in all industries... Moreover, the average growth in income from wages and salaries is less for women than it is for all wage earners in all industries (Nakamura et al., 1979, p. 89).

And the gap between male and female earnings may be widening. Gunderson (1976, p. 122) suggests that "females may be losing ground in occupations where the earning gap is small and gaining where the earning gap is large". Furthermore, women are more likely to be offered and to take part-time work.



Because women earn less than men they are classed as secondary workers: because they earn less than men, their work is less important. Women do not generally earn less than men by choice. Nor do their lower wages necessarily indicate that the work is less important to the employer or the employee. Employers hire women and pay them less than men because they are cheaper, because there are many of them seeking work and because they lack the organization and resources to object.

Women may move in and out of jobs more frequently than men, they are more likely to work part-time and they do make less money than men. This is however at least as much a result of the nature of the jobs available to women as it is a result of women's work patterns and preferences. The jobs, not the workers, are secondary.

### Conclusion

Women have been flooding into the labour market in Canada. They have responded to their growing economic needs and to employer demands for female workers. But more of the jobs available are part-time and many more of the women who seek employment fail to find work. Those who are unemployed find it increasingly difficult to disappear back into the home. And, when technological developments and rising inflation are taken into account, there is every reason to believe that this trend will continue. These patterns cannot be dismissed as unimportant because women are secondary workers, as dangerous because women take jobs away from men, as phoney because they allow claims on unemployment insurance, as a matter of choice because most women are married. More of the jobs created are secondary and part-time. Most women take them because they need the money. If these trends are to be altered, these structural factors must be dealt with directly, not redefined.



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## Footnotes

- <sup>1</sup> The recent decline in employment opportunities for women, particularly in teaching, has been blamed on the falling birth rate. In turn, this decline has been attributed to changing female preferences and aspirations, especially their decision to seek paid employment. Left out of this discussion are the growing economic needs of the family, declining male wages, the scarcity and high cost of day care as well as the possibility of decreasing classroom size.
- <sup>2</sup> For the sake of convenience, work in this paper refers to labour market work. This is not to deny that almost all women work in the home.
- <sup>3</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, (Cat. No. 71-001) various issues and Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-78 (Cat. No. 71-529). The figures are not precisely comparable since current data are based on the Revised Labour Force Survey. See also note 10.
- <sup>4</sup> Official statistics on unemployment usually underestimate actual unemployment. The hidden unemployed are not included and a significant number of the hidden unemployed are women. For discussion of hidden unemployment, see H. Armstrong (1979), Gonick (1978), the People's Commission on Unemployment in Newfoundland and Labrador (1978), and Stirling and Kouri (1979).
- <sup>5</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 101.
- <sup>6</sup> The full-time employment/population ratio refers to that proportion of the population fifteen years of age and over who work 30 hours or more per week, or who usually work less than 30 hours but consider themselves to be employed full-time.
- <sup>7</sup> In Statistics Canada's (1980, p. 2) recent analysis of Canada's Female Labour Force, the following question is asked:  

Is the high rate of unemployment in recent years a result of the rapid entry of females into the labour market or is high unemployment simply due to the fast growth in the total labour force plus changing economic conditions?

No answer to this question is offered in the Statistics Canada publication.

<sup>8</sup> In 1978, 25.4% of Canadian families had one income recipient, according to Statistics Canada, Income Distribution by Size in Canada, 1978 (Cat. No. 13-207), Table 55.

<sup>9</sup> In 1978, women headed 9.6% of Canadian families, according to Statistics Canada, Income Distribution by Size in Canada, 1978 (Cat. No. 13-207), Table 55. For a more complete discussion of the steady increase in female-headed households, see the National Council of Welfare (1976).

<sup>10</sup> Because of the significant changes undertaken in the Labour Force Survey in 1975, many of the data are available on a historically consistent basis from that time only. Statistics Canada has however recorded selected data back as far as 1966 on the basis of the Revised Labour Force Survey.

<sup>11</sup> One aspect of the Labour Force Survey revisions of 1975 was to reduce the number of hours required for full-time work from 35 to 30, making historical comparisons difficult. The pre-1975 full-time data used in Table 2 were recalculated by us to make them comparable. Some important historical comparisons, such as for full-time and part-time employment by industry or occupation and sex, are not even available from 1975.

<sup>12</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 83.

<sup>13</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 59.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of the inadequacy of day care in Canada, see Canadian Council on Social Development (1976, pp. 51-67).

<sup>15</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, Income Distribution by Size in Canada, 1978 (Cat. No. 13-207), Table 14.

<sup>16</sup> Between 1975 and 1978, the following increases in current dollar wages were recorded:

Primary industries	31.5%
Manufacturing	33.9%
Construction	33.9%
Transportation, communication & other utilities	33.9%
Trade	27.7%
Finance, insurance & real estate	28.6%
Service	25.3%

Calculated from Canada, Department of Finance, Economic Review, April 1980, Reference Table 49. These percentage increases do not reveal the larger differences in actual wages, as the trade and service industries started from much lower points in 1975.

<sup>17</sup> The low official unemployment rate for women was in fact primarily the result of the indirect way of asking about labour force activity in the Former Labour Force Survey. By changing to more direct questions in 1975, Statistics Canada discovered the presence of 223,000 more women in the labour force, of whom 79,000 were unemployed. As a result, their unemployment rate moved from 6.4 to 8.1, overtaking that of men.

<sup>18</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics-Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data, 1979 (Cat. No. 71-201).

<sup>19</sup> In response to the pressure from women's groups, the Federal Government has recently announced that it will reduce the minimum weekly hours of work from 20 to 15.

<sup>20</sup> Calculated from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Annual Report on Benefits Established and Terminated under the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1963-1971 (Cat. No. 73-201), various tables.

<sup>21</sup> Some jobs may require less skill and training and thus the employer may be less concerned about retaining any particular employee in the job. However, the job itself still has to be done and therefore is important. Garbage disposal and babysitting are useful examples here.

<sup>22</sup> By 1979, 36.4% of women and 29.0% of men had been in the same job 1 to 5 years, and 17.0% of women compared to 17.6% of men had been in the same job for 6 to 10 years. Meanwhile, 11.5% of women compared to 16.8% of men had been in the same job for 11 to 20 years and 4.5% of women compared to 13.1% of men have been for 20 years or more. Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 78.

<sup>23</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 78.

- <sup>24</sup> Women, not men, leave the labour force because of family responsibilities. For a more complete discussion of the relationship between women's two roles, see Armstrong and Armstrong, The Double Ghetto (1978).
- <sup>25</sup> In 1979, 42.8% of all unemployed women in 1979 lost their job or were laid off. Calculated from Statistics Canada The Labour Force December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 99.
- <sup>26</sup> As compared to 43% of male workers, 27% of female workers are unionized. For further information on Canadian women and unions, see White, Women and Unions (1980).
- <sup>27</sup> Calculated for 1975 from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages 1975-1978 (Cat. No. 71-529), Table 25 and The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 86.
- <sup>28</sup> Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Table 84.



Table 1

Labour Force Participation, Employment and Unemployment, Canada, 1966-79

Year	<u>Participation rate</u>		Women as % of employed	<u>Unemployment rate</u>		Women as % of unemployed
	Women	Men		Women	Men	
1966	35.4	79.8	31.3	3.4	3.3	31.8
1967	36.5	79.3	32.1	3.7	3.9	31.4
1968	37.1	78.6	32.7	4.4	4.6	31.8
1969	38.0	78.3	33.2	4.7	4.3	35.1
1970	38.3	77.8	33.6	5.8	5.6	34.7
1971	39.4	77.3	34.2	6.6	6.0	36.8
1972	40.2	77.5	34.5	7.0	5.8	39.1
1973	41.8	78.2	35.1	6.7	4.9	42.6
1974	42.9	78.7	35.6	6.4	4.8	42.6
1975	44.2	78.4	36.3	8.1	6.2	43.2
1976	45.0	77.7	36.9	8.4	6.4	44.2
1977	45.9	77.7	37.3	9.5	7.3	44.1
1978	47.8	77.9	38.3	9.6	7.6	44.8
1979	48.9	78.4	38.3	8.8	6.6	46.1

Sources: For 1966-77, calculated from Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics: Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data (Cat. No. 71-201) Ottawa, 1978. For 1978, calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978 (Cat. No. 71-529) Ottawa, 1979. For 1979, calculated from The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001), Ottawa, 1980.

Table 2

Full-time and Part-time Employment, Canada, 1966-79

Year	<u>Employment/population ratio</u>		<u>Full-time employment/population ratio</u>		<u>% employed part-time</u>	
	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men
1966	34.2	77.1	28.6	74.6	17.0	3.4
1967	35.1	76.3	29.3	73.4	17.4	3.7
1968	35.5	75.1	29.1	72.0	18.6	4.1
1969	35.2	74.9	29.4	71.4	19.1	4.4
1970	36.1	73.4	29.2	69.8	19.6	4.9
1971	36.8	72.7	29.7	69.2	19.7	5.0
1972	37.4	73.0	30.2	69.5	19.6	4.9
1973	39.1	74.3	31.7	70.9	19.4	4.7
1974	40.2	74.9	32.4	71.3	19.9	4.9
1975	40.8	73.5	32.6	69.8	20.3	5.1
1976	41.4	72.7	32.6	69.0	21.1	5.1
1977	41.7	72.0	32.5	68.0	22.1	5.5
1978	43.2	72.1	33.4	68.1	22.6	5.6
1979	44.6	73.2	34.2	69.0	23.3	5.8

Note: The pre-1975 data have been recalculated on the basis of the revised Labour Force Survey, excluding 14 year olds and using population estimates derived from the 1976 Census.

Sources: Calculated from Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics: Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data (Cat. No. 71-201) Ottawa, 1980; and from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1975 (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, 1976.

Table 3

## Employment and Unemployment by Industry and Sex, Canada, 1979

Industry	Employment		Unemployment	
	Women as % of industry	Women as % of all female workers	Women as % of industry	Women as % of all female workers
Agriculture	25.3	3.0	38.1	2.1
Other primary	8.8	0.6	...	...
Primary sub-total	19.3	3.6	22.4	2.8
Manufacturing	26.5	13.7	39.5	15.5
Construction	8.0	1.3	5.1	1.3
Secondary sub-total	22.1	14.9	25.9	16.8
Transportation, communication & other utilities	20.6	4.6	23.4	2.8
Trade	42.2	18.9	50.4	16.3
Finance, insurance & real estate	59.3	8.2	71.4	3.9
Service	59.7	43.7	66.8	39.1
Public administration	34.8	6.1	43.5	5.2
Tertiary sub-total	47.5	81.5	56.0	67.6
Unclassified			68.5	13.0
Total	38.8	100.0	46.1	100.0
				100.0

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, 1980.

Table 4

## Employment and Unemployment by Occupation and Sex, Canada, 1979

Occupation	Employment			Unemployment		
	Women as % of occupation	Women as % of all female workers	Men as % of all male workers	Women as % of occupation	Women as % of all female workers	Men as % of all male workers
Managerial, professional & technical	40.8	24.0	22.2	56.6	12.2	8.0
Clerical	77.2	34.0	6.4	81.6	26.4	5.1
Sales	39.9	10.7	10.3	51.7	8.0	6.4
Blue collar sub-total	52.9	68.8	38.8	67.2	46.6	19.5
Service	53.9	17.9	9.7	61.4	23.1	12.4
Primary occupations	18.0	3.0	8.5	18.9	2.6	9.5
Processing	19.1	7.8	21.0	31.8	4.1	9.3
Construction	1.4	0.2	10.3	...	...	20.4
Transportation	5.3	0.6	6.4	...	...	7.1
Materials handling & other crafts	18.2	1.8	5.2	30.0	3.1	7.1
White collar sub-total	24.5	31.3	61.2	31.4	40.4	75.4
Unclassified				68.5	13.0	5.3
Total	38.8	100.0	100.0	46.1	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, 1980.



Table 5

## Part-time Employment by Industry and Sex, Canada, 1979

Industry	Part-time % of industry			Female % of part-time employment	Industry's % of part-time employment		
	Both sexes	Women	Men		Both sexes	Women	Men
Agriculture	17.0	38.5	9.7	57.3	6.3	5.0	9.6
Other primary	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Primary sub-total	11.5	34.0	6.5	57.3	6.7	5.2	11.0
Manufacturing	2.9	6.7	1.6	60.7	4.7	4.0	6.8
Construction	5.2	29.4	3.1	45.5	2.5	1.6	4.9
Quaternary sub-total	3.5	8.7	2.0	55.3	7.2	5.6	11.8
Transportation, communication & power utilities	4.7	13.5	2.4	59.5	3.2	2.7	4.7
Trade	21.3	35.3	11.1	69.9	29.6	28.8	31.8
Finance, insurance & real estate	9.0	12.2	4.4	80.0	3.8	4.3	2.7
Service	20.5	27.1	10.6	79.2	46.3	51.0	34.5
Public administration	5.4	9.8	3.3	63.2	2.9	2.6	4.1
Tertiary sub-total	16.2	25.5	7.8	74.6	86.0	89.3	77.8
Total	12.5	23.2	5.8	71.9	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, 1980.

Table 6

## Part-time Employment by Occupation and Sex, Canada, 1979

Occupation	Part-time % of occupation			Female % of part-time employment		Occupation's % of part-time employment		
	Both sexes	Women	Men			Both sexes	Women	Men
Managerial, professional & technical	9.1	18.0	3.0	80.6		16.6	18.6	11.5
Clerical	16.4	18.8	8.0	88.6		22.3	27.5	8.8
Sales	20.4	37.3	9.0	72.9		17.0	17.2	16.2
White collar sub-total	13.9	21.4	5.4	81.4		55.9	63.3	36.4
Service	27.1	36.5	16.0	72.4		27.8	28.0	27.1
Primary occupations	13.0	36.4	7.9	50.0		6.6	4.6	11.8
Processing	2.6	5.4	1.9	40.5		3.2	1.8	6.9
Construction	2.9	...	2.6	...		1.5	...	4.7
Transportation	4.9	34.8	3.2	38.1		1.6	0.9	3.6
Materials handling & other crafts	10.8	12.2	10.5	20.5		3.4	1.0	9.6
Blue collar sub-total	11.2	27.0	6.0	59.1		44.1	36.3	63.6
Total	12.5	23.2	5.8	71.9		100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001) Ottawa, 1980.

Table 7

## Job Creation by Industry and Sex, Canada, 1975-79

Industry	% of jobs created, both sexes	% of jobs created, women	% of female employment, 1979	Female % of jobs created	Female % of employment, 1979
Agriculture	0.0	2.2	3.0	—	25.3
Other primary	4.9	1.4	0.6	17.0	8.8
Primary sub-total	4.9	3.6	3.6	43.4	19.3
Manufacturing	18.3	13.9	13.6	44.7	26.5
Construction	3.4	1.7	1.3	29.7	8.0
Quaternary sub-total	21.8	15.6	14.9	42.4	22.1
Transportation, communication & other utilities	7.9	5.6	4.6	41.9	20.6
Trade	15.5	18.3	18.9	69.6	42.2
Finance, insurance & real estate	7.3	8.9	8.2	72.2	59.3
Service	39.0	42.9	43.7	65.0	59.7
Public administration	3.7	5.5	6.1	87.5	34.8
Tertiary sub-total	73.5	81.0	81.5	65.1	47.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	59.1	38.8

Sources: For 1975, calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978 (Cat. No. 71-529)

Ottawa, 1979. For 1979, calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001)

Ottawa, 1980.

Table 8

## Job Creation by Occupation and Sex, Canada, 1975-79

Occupation	% of jobs created, both sexes	% of jobs created, women	% of female employment, 1979	Female % of jobs created	Female % of employment, 1979
Managerial, professional & technical	33.6	26.5	24.0	46.6	40.7
Clerical	13.3	22.8	34.0	101.4	77.1
Sales	4.9	12.6	10.7	152.8	39.9
White collar sub-total	51.8	62.0	68.8	70.6	52.9
Service	18.8	24.6	17.9	77.5	53.9
Primary occupations	3.6	2.5	3.0	41.0	18.0
Processing	15.9	6.2	7.8	23.3	19.1
Construction	1.8	0.8	0.2	25.0	1.4
Transportation	4.2	1.7	0.6	23.9	5.3
Materials handling & other crafts	3.9	2.2	1.8	33.3	18.2
Blue collar sub-total	48.2	38.1	31.3	46.7	24.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	59.1	38.8

Sources: For 1975, calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978 (Cat. No. 71-529)

Ottawa, 1979. For 1979, calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001)  
Ottawa, 1980.



Table 9

## Unemployment by Industry and Sex, Canada, 1975-79

Industry	% of unemployment change for both sexes	% of unemployment change for women	% of female unemployment, 1979	Female % of unemployment change	Female % of unemployment, 1979
Agriculture	4.1	3.3	2.4	42.9	38.1
Other primary	1.2	...	...	...	...
Quaternary sub-total	5.3	4.4	3.3	44.4	22.4
Manufacturing	1.8	1.1	17.9	33.3	39.5
Construction	11.2	3.3	1.5	15.8	5.1
Quaternary sub-total	13.0	4.4	19.3	18.2	25.9
Transportation, communication & other utilities	3.0	2.2	3.3	40.0	23.4
Trade	17.2	17.8	18.8	55.2	50.4
Finance, insurance & real estate	4.1	4.4	4.5	57.1	71.4
Service	47.9	57.8	44.9	64.2	66.8
Public administration	10.1	8.9	6.0	47.1	43.5
Quaternary sub-total	82.8	93.3	77.7	60.0	56.0
Grand classified	100.0	100.0	100.0	53.3	43.9

Sources: For 1975 calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978 (Cat. No. 71-529)

Ottawa, 1979. For 1979, calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001)

Ottawa, 1980.

Table 10

## Unemployment by Occupation and Sex, Canada, 1975-79

Occupation	% of unemployment change for both sexes	% of unemployment change for women	% of female unemployment, 1979	Female % of unemployment change	Female % of unemployment, 1979
Managerial, professional & technical	13.0	13.3	14.0	54.5	56.6
Clerical	17.8	33.3	30.4	100.0	81.6
Sales	8.3	6.7	9.2	42.9	51.7
White collar sub-total	39.1	53.3	53.6	72.7	67.2
Service	32.5	40.0	26.5	65.5	61.4
Primary occupations	6.5	4.4	3.0	36.4	18.9
Processing	5.9	1.1	12.8	10.0	31.8
Construction	9.5	...	...	...	...
Transportation	3.6	...	...	...	...
Materials handling & other crafts	3.0	1.1	3.1	20.0	30.0
Blue collar sub-total	60.9	46.7	46.4	40.8	31.7
Total classified	100.0	100.0	100.0	53.3	43.9

Sources: For 1975, calculated from Statistics Canada, Labour Force Annual Averages, 1975-1978 (Cat. No. 71-529)

Ottawa, 1979. For 1979, calculated from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, December 1979 (Cat. No. 71-001)

Ottawa, 1980.

Table 11

Unemployment Insurance Benefits for all Women and Men under 25 Years, Canada, 1972-76

<u>Year</u>	<u>% of benefits <sup>a</sup></u>	<u>% of labour force</u>	<u>% of unemployed</u>
1972	50.6	49.3	66.9
1973	52.4	50.6	69.4
1974	53.3	51.1	70.3
1975	54.4	51.8	70.4
1976	56.5	52.3	71.7

<sup>a</sup> These data are from taxation statistics and thus are based on tax filers.

Sources: Columns 1 and 2 from Statistics Canada, The Labour Force, September 1978 (Cat. No. 71-001), p. 70. Column 3 calculated from Statistics Canada, Historical Labour Force Statistics - Actual Data, Seasonal Factors, Seasonally Adjusted Data, 19 (Cat. No. 71-201), pp. 54, 56 and 58.





VII

EDUCATION AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN:  
PATTERNS OF ENROLMENT AND ECONOMIC RETURNS

Jane Gaskell



Education is supposed to be the mechanism that provides equal access to jobs based on ability in our society. Those who do well in school are generally deemed to be more capable of filling responsible and high paying jobs. Those who do badly, on the other hand, are seen as more suited to less important jobs. Parents' anxiety about how their children are doing in school bears witness to this pervasive assumption that schooling determines students' future class positions.

A frequent corollary of this has been that if an individual or a group does not get good jobs, it is because their education is unequal. Although this has been particularly true for the poor and some ethnic minorities, especially native people, women's disadvantage in the labour force has also been traced directly to problems in their education. "Changes in education could bring dramatic improvements in the social and economic position of women in an astonishingly short time," the Royal Commission on the Status of Women stated in 1964 (p. 161).

But the idea that education should sort people out into job slots has never been unambiguously applied to women. Although the model is supposed to hold for all students, most sociologists have assumed that women's adult status is not determined by their education and their job, but by their husband's education and job (Acker, 1973; Parkin, 1972; Parsons, 1972). This leaves the function of education for women hazy: to help her find a high status husband, to prepare her to bring up her (male) children so that they in turn will do well in school, to provide her with the ability to earn "pin money" when she wants, to enable her to enjoy her leisure time better. But by and large, women continue to be treated as dependents; while in a seeming non-sequitur, schools

continue to be treated as agents of social selection for everybody.

One result of this confusion has been that research on status attainment and the contribution of education has often looked only at in tacit recognition of the fact that women are an exception and fit the model properly (Jencks, 1979; Blau and Duncan, 1967; Bowles and Gintis, 1972). Furthermore, there is evidence that suggests that women do not fit the model properly. The lack of education which has been used to explain why various disadvantaged groups do badly in the labour market does not apply to women. On the average, women in the labour force are better educated than men. Secondly, education does not pay off for women in the same way as it does for men. In 1971, a university degree was worth \$3,000 to a woman and \$4,000 to a man. A woman with a university degree still gets paid less than a man with a high school education.

In other words, the relationship between education and jobs is not understood very well for women. This paper will explore what we know about the ways in which women's education contributes to their position in the labour force. It will point out areas that need to be researched, and suggest ways in which we need to reassess our general notions about the relationship between education and work. The paper will look first at women's level of education attainment, secondly at patterns of course enrollments, and finally, at the relationship between education and jobs.

#### The Educational Attainment of Women

The notion that women have less education than men, and that that is why they do not get jobs equal to men's, is largely untrue. Girls tend to stay in school longer and get better marks than boys. Statistics on the educational attainment of the population show that women are



overrepresented at the middle levels of educational achievement, which account for the largest percentage of the population (See Table 1). Women continue to be overrepresented among those with diplomas or certificates at the post-secondary level, but underrepresented among those with university degrees. The educational levels of women who work outside the home are higher still, relative to men's. These women are less likely to have only an elementary school education, and more likely to have both high school and post-secondary education (Table 2). The trends over time, shown here as age groups, are for women to lose their advantage at the high school level, but gain at the post-secondary level.

Teachers tend to be quite aware that girls are, on the average, "better" students, and as a result the idea that women suffer from an unequal education has not been very popular among educators. They see boys as the problem. Girls do well in school. Instead of equal rights for girls in school, they have been concerned about equal rights for boys. Researchers have complained that schools discriminate against boys, that schools are femininized institutions, that more male teachers need to be hired to redress the balance, that texts should be written to particularly interest boys, and that the hidden curriculum should be adapted to more "masculine" ways; either by separating out the boys or allowing more independence and physical movement in the classroom (Sexton, 1969).

The evidence for these contentions comes from various sources. Girls get better overall grades in school than do boys. Girls read better, at least in North America, and reading is the basis for most school tasks. Boys are more likely to be in special classes for slow learners and to have learning deficits. Girls also progress faster than boys through

school and are less likely to be above the modal age for their grade. Girls are more likely to stay in school until they graduate from high school (Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970; Synge, 1977; McCoby and Jacklin, 1974; Perspective Canada, 1974).

Women have been more likely than men to go on to and complete high school for as long as school records have been kept in British Columbia. The B.C. School Reports show that from 1880 to 1950, the proportion of females enrolled in high schools was higher than the proportion of males (see Table 3). The U.S. Biennial Survey of Education shows a similar pattern. In 1890, girls were 57.7% of all public secondary students and 64.8% of those who graduated (Weiss, 1978). Thus, public high schools were far from a male preserve, even when getting a high school education was an unusual accomplishment.

In the 1950s and 60s, the picture changed somewhat. By 1950, an equal number of boys and girls were enrolled in high school. Although, as Table 4 shows, since 1911, more girls aged 15-19 had been attending school, by 1950, more boys of this age were enrolled. The change reflects an increase in males attending high school; the fact that girls graduate from high school at a younger age, and, importantly, an increase in post-secondary schooling holding males aged 17 and 18.

It is at the post-secondary level that concern about the lower achievement levels of women has focused, although only a small percentage of the population has post-secondary schooling. Although girls are more likely to graduate from high school and to graduate with higher marks, they are less likely to go on to university. Table 5 shows that the total percentage of females enrolled in post-secondary education is lower than

the percentage of males enrolled. Women outnumbered men in community colleges, but not as undergraduate or graduate students at university.

The number of women enrolled in post-secondary education has been increasing at the undergraduate level, except for a slight decrease in the 1950s (see Table 6). At graduate school the numbers have just recently passed what they were in the 1920s and 30s, after a sharp decline in the 50s and 60s. The increases in women's enrolment in the last years are quite dramatic and indicate that women are rapidly making up the educational deficit they have had at this level. A recent follow-up of grade 12 students in Ontario showed about equal numbers of males and females going on to post-secondary education (63% of males and 64% of females) (Anisef, 1980). Thirty per cent of the females and 36% of the males went to university, 25% of the females and 19% of the males went to community colleges, and 9% of the females and 8% of the males went to both universities and community colleges.

In sum, women have on the average had more schooling than men. Women have been more likely to graduate from high school, and only a small percentage of the population has been educated beyond this level. Among the privileged class who went to university, women have been underrepresented and this became more important with the expansion of university education in the 50s and 60s. Women have been making rapid gains recently in university education. In the labour force, women's relative position is even better.

Although we can point to some inequality in the education of women at the university level, inequality of educational opportunity does not seem to exist in the public schools, as least insofar as we use years

of attainment as an index. This makes it difficult to explain women's lower adult status by the unequal amount of education they have.

#### Patterns of Enrolment

Although the quantity of education that women have received has only been less than men's at the university level, many have claimed that the quality of women's education is not equal to men's. Even if both males and females graduate from high school, the male graduates with a different set of experiences, skills, and expectations as a result of the ways schooling is organized.

When males and females attend the same classes they are treated differently and exposed to an ideology that reinforces traditional sex stereotypes. Books and media used in the schools either omit women or portray them in traditionally stereotyped roles. Teachers interact more frequently with boys and allocate tasks according to traditional notions of male and female interests. Student cultures that grow up within the organization of the school reproduce traditional sex divisions. These differences in treatment and ideology affect both the skills and attitudes of students (Gaskell, 1977; Levy, 1972; Fischer and Cheyne, 1977; Sears and Feldman, 1974; Coleman, 1961).

But this sexist ideology, this unequal treatment of males and females is not transmitted simply through what people say and think in the school. The school begins a form of organizational differentiation that carried through into the labour market. Males and females, especially in the secondary school, are placed in different courses to a very large extent. Their education does not consist of the same things.



In the public school, data on subject enrolments are relatively hard to find. For the purposes of this paper I have searched out some British Columbia data, but Canadian comparisons need to be made. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women reported that in 1969, 70% of females and 64% of males were in academic courses, 23% of females and 5% of males were in commercial courses, and 7% of females and 31% of males were in "other" (largely industrial) courses. The data show no consistent trend between 1965 and 1969 in the proportions of different courses. Synge (1977) reports that in 1968-69 in Ontario, 59% of girls and 50% of males were in academic courses, 45% of girls and 10% of boys were in commercial courses, and 3% of girls and 38% of boys were in industrial courses in Ontario. (Anisef (1980) reports that in 1973, 74% of females and 63% of males were in academic courses, 24% of females and 6% of males were in commercial courses, and 1% of females and 31% of males were in industrial courses. Although the Synge data have a higher proportion of girls in the commercial courses, these data suggest that about one-quarter of the girls and one-third of the boys are in highly sex-segregated commercial and industrial education courses. No decrease in this segregation is apparent between 1965 and 1973.

In British Columbia in 1978, 9.4% of the students taking industrial courses were females. Even this figure underestimates the amount of sex segregation, as girls tend to take lower level courses, and courses like auto mechanics for girls, introductory carpentry, and perhaps drafting. In 1979, 77% of the students enrolled in business courses in British Columbia were female. Within the business program girls are more likely to take courses like typing, shorthand, office practice and office

orientation which prepare them directly for secretarial work. Boys take courses like marketing, computers and general business which prepare them for a job in a small business or for handling their own finances better.

Home Economics is another area that is segregated in the secondary school. Seventy-eight per cent of the students taking it in British Columbia in 1978 were females. The boys tend to take lower level courses in cases where the school has rotated all students through home economics for part of the year and to take special courses like bachelor cooking, or perhaps some more advanced food courses that sound more "scientific." Textiles and sewing are almost entirely female, as are child care and most of the cooking courses.

Science and mathematics also show sex differences in enrolment patterns in the high school. In the 1977 British Columbia math assessment, 64% of those grade 12 students whose last mathematics course was in grade 10 (when math was compulsory) were female. Fifty-four per cent of those who dropped math in grade 11 were female. The type of math taken since grade 10 was not reported and this might show further differences if girls tend to take business math whereas boys take calculus and trigonometry. In a widely circulated paper, Sells (1973) examined the mathematics background of Berkeley first year students. Fifty-seven per cent of the boys but only 8% of the girls had four years of high school mathematics. However, this level of mathematics was required for admission to all fields of study except humanities, social science, education, and social welfare. Although the emphasis of educators' concern about the lack of mathematics background of women has been primarily on entrance to university and professional careers, math is

increasingly required for admission to vocational programs and apprenticeships. It becomes a critical filter within the school system in affecting women's job options in many areas.

Girls are also less likely to take science courses. In the 1979 British Columbia science assessment study, 37% of the females had no science courses after grade 10, whereas only 34% of the boys had none. Larger differences appear when the kind of science is taken into account. Seventeen per cent of the females and 38% of the males had taken senior level physics. Fifty-seven per cent of the females and 45% of the males took biology. Girls are well represented in health sciences, but are disqualified from many other technical science careers (Erikson, Erikson and Haggerty, 1980; Kelly, 1978; Gardiner, 1975).

It is clear that we have not given enough attention to the fact that so much high school education is not coeducational. Although girls and boys meet in the halls and the cafeterias, they work together in the classroom less often. These enrolment patterns are significant in shaping the skills, interests and interaction patterns of adults. They develop a sense of competence and familiarity with different areas of experience, and this influences future choices about work. They influence the domestic division of labour, which in turn affects labour force activity. They also segment the labour force by sex on entry to the labour market and on entry to post-secondary education. Every spring high schools send into the labour market a large supply of females who can type, read, write, and do accounting, who are oriented to working in an office and familiar with clerical work. They also produce a large number of boys who have experience in workshops, who are oriented to and

familiar with blue collar work, but have less specific job skills than the girls, reflecting the greater diversity of jobs they enter.

Why do sex differences in enrolment patterns occur? The usual assumption is that it is due to student choices, and that we therefore need to understand students' attitudes, interests, priorities and career goals. Attempts to desegregate courses would then rely on changing the students through increasing awareness of alternative careers, impressing girls with the important place work will take in their lives, decreasing anxiety about unfamiliar areas, or doing remedial work in order to increase girls' confidence in math or industrial areas.

While these approaches are valuable they neglect structural features about the organization of schools within which choice takes place. Making courses even formally available to students of either sex has only been achieved recently in some subject areas, through strong pressure from parents and status of women groups. Even when choice is formally open, the organization of the course varies from school to school. For example, in British Columbia, the percentage of females enrolled in industrial courses varies from a low of 2% in North Thomson to a high of 31% in Fort Nelson. As both of these districts are rural, northern, and based on primary industry, the differences in enrolment are likely due to the organization of the school. The percentage of males enrolled in home economics also varies from 35% in Stikine to 2% in Keremeos, again districts similar in socio-economic terms. It is possible to guess at many of the factors that will influence these enrolment figures--the timetable, the teachers' attitudes, the sex composition of the teaching staff, the content of the curriculum. Once a breakthrough has been made,



the effect snowballs as students no longer feel as uncomfortable--one of a kind--in a non-traditional area.

Looking beyond school differences, we need to understand how different subject areas are organized in relation to the labour market. The way a course is treated by students is affected by whether they see it as necessary for a particular job or university program, or simply an interesting extra or an easy credit. The business courses girls take have a unique status in this respect. They are seen as job training. A girl who graduates from them can be hired as a secretary. Typing, and shorthand particularly, are skills which cannot be picked up in a matter of weeks on the job, which can be learned at school, and which are likely to be tested during a job interview. As clerical work employed 47% of females with a high school education in 1971, these courses take on an enormous importance for girls who are not planning to continue with post-secondary education. Some evidence also suggests that girls who take commercial courses do better in the labour market than girls who do not take the courses; although this is not true of boys who take industrial courses (Hall and McFarlane, 1962; Nolfi, 1978; Gaskell, 1981).

The industrial courses, which appear to be the equivalent course for males, are not as closely linked to work. They do not provide credentials or skills that are tested or expected on entry to jobs. The student who has taken carpentry is not a carpenter. The student who has taken auto mechanics is not an auto mechanic. Trades training takes place after high school, and research suggests it is boys in the academic programme who employers will prefer (Grubb & Lazerson, 1975). There have been some recent attempts to introduce pre-apprenticeship programs into the high school, but probably more popular are proposals to create

alternatives to apprenticeships at the community college or subsidize employers to provide the training on the job (British Columbia Board of Trade, 1980).

The difference has meant that training for relatively skilled female work is done in the public school system, at the public's and the students' expense, while training for male work is paid for by the employer while the trainee earns a wage. It has also ensured a plentiful supply of women trained in secretarial skills, helping to keep the price of this kind of labour down, while the number of skilled tradespeople has been restricted to such an extent that the shortage is now making headlines.

What factors have made secretarial training (which tends to be female) available in the high school, while apprenticeships (which tend to be male) are not? The form school programmes take is constructed historically. Any decision to incorporate a particular kind of course, and course content, in the school, must be negotiated and fought for by somebody or some group of people within the school, and with unions, employers, parents, students, and perhaps other interested groups.

Our usual assumption that the difference is due to the nature and difficulty of the tasks is at most only a partial explanation. Clerical work is less expensive to start in the school; the machinery is cheaper, the skills apply to a wider range of jobs than most industrial skills, and the tasks are more "school-like," involving sitting at a desk. However, all of these are relative. Many skills taught in commercial courses do not apply widely in the job market, and some industrial skills do. Expensive programs are mounted in the schools, and experience

in settings outside the school is used in commercial courses and could be used in others. Industrial courses do involve school-like skills in reading and mathematics, and industrial courses which exist in the school involve students in activities that do not look particularly "school-like." Briggs (1974) has pointed out a similar phenomenon in the skill levels attributed to male and female work. When skill levels are actually quite similar, the lower skill presumed to be necessary in female jobs blocks these jobs from becoming part of the formal apprenticeship system. While "anyone can type," becoming a plumber requires several years of training beyond the high school.

Research on how and why vocational programmes were incorporated into the school curriculum is sparse. Lazerson and Grubb (1974) show that it was subject to negotiation between business and labour, and educators, and recent studies show that this continues to be true. Weiss (1978) suggests that business courses were brought into the public school system in an attempt to increase enrolments, especially of boys who were attending the flourishing private business schools. But we also need to know whether other kinds of private trade schools were flourishing and, if they were, why they were not brought into the public school system. If they were not, why weren't they? Why was training organized differently in other occupational areas? It seems likely that in clerical work the rapidly expanding demand for labour, the entry of women into the occupation, the reluctance of employers to invest in on-the-job training for women who were seen as short-term workers, and the lack of unionization in clerical work all interacted to make it available for public school educators to take over, while the training for many other male occupations eluded their grasp.

Today, about a third of all Canadian students go directly into the labour force from high school. These students have increasingly become relegated to lower level jobs. Their education is the education of the working class, and I have treated it at some length as it has tended to be neglected in favor of studies of post secondary-education, of those who will be more powerful. It is particularly important to understand high school education for women, as it has been critical in the development of clerical and secretarial work; women's primary area of paid work.

The post-secondary non-university level has expanded enormously recently, and its place and structure are still evolving and poorly understood. It is clear that sex segregation continues at the community college level. In 1978, 99% of those enrolled in secretarial courses, 87% of those in medical programmes (nursing, dental hygiene, etc.), and 65% of those in community and social services were female. Two per cent of those in electronics, mechanical engineering, and aeronautical engineering, 24% of those in natural resources programmes, and 14% of those in other engineering programmes were female. In arts, 58% were female, and in other business programmes, 48% were female. As usual in business courses, this overall representation conceals unequal numbers of males and females in particular courses. There are more males in financial management and marketing management; more females in retail merchandizing. In Canada Manpower Training programs there is a similar pattern, although a lower representation of women. Seventy-four per cent of medical and health services, 69% of stenographic and clerical trades, 40% of community and recreational services students are female. One



per cent of construction, 5% of metal machinery and shaping, less than 1% of mining, forestry, and logging students are female (Statistics Canada, 1977). The Royal Commission on the Status of Women pointed out unequal enrolments in vocational courses outside the high school, and recent American research and Congressional hearings have called attention to the same thing (Roby, 1976). Sex segregation predominates.

It is important to understand how training requirements for jobs are changing with the expansion of post-secondary and vocational training, and what the implications of this are for who will attend what courses and who will enter what jobs. The rapid increase in courses at the community college level suggests that training for a variety of jobs is getting changed from a relatively informal process of on-the-job learning, supervised and paid for by the employer, to a formal credit course at a public institution under the supervision of specialized teachers. Educational requirements for jobs are becoming more standardized and rationalized. Although this process may reduce labour costs and increase profits, as some have claimed, it is taking place more in some areas than others. The increasing representation of women at community colleges suggests that it may be "women's work" that is particularly subject to this kind of reorganization and upgrading of pre-entry educational requirements. For example, child care programmes, which tend to be overwhelmingly female, have been instituted, and associations of child care workers have lobbied for the recognition of their training by day care centres, and the exclusion of anyone who does not have formal credentials from teaching at a day care centre. The success of this attempt to "upgrade" the work will depend on a variety of factors in the

market-place: the funding of day care, the supply of workers, the way work gets reorganized, the potential of unionization, the use of new technology, and so on. These are the same factors that affect the organization of clerical and industrial courses in high schools. At the same time, the areas where community colleges do not develop and expand, courses need to be studied. Either unions or employers or both may want to restrict the supply of labour or keep it officially unskilled or exercise more control over the selection of students and the content of their training than public institutions allow.

These changes in training requirements will affect both how much and what kind of education women get. The changes will also affect the economic status of women--their incomes and their access to non-traditional areas. A long training program may discourage women who do not plan to stay in the labour force for a long time, and reduce their access to jobs they have traditionally held. For instance, using the child care example, women who used to be qualified because they had brought up children would not have to return to school. On the other hand, a formal educational program may increase the attention paid to ability, and open admissions more widely, so that women try out non-traditional jobs. As has been pointed out, women do relatively well at school and have tended to stay there longer than men. They are over-represented as students at the community college level. Increased training may increase women's wages by upgrading the "quality" of their labour, or it may decrease wages by opening up training opportunities more widely, and thus devaluing them.

Another approach to understanding women's enrolment patterns at the community college is to see community colleges as a way of relieving

pressure from the university, "cooling out" and tracking students, at a time when everyone wants a diploma as a ticket to a middle or upper level position in the class structure and there are not enough positions open (Karabel, 1972; Pincus, 1980). Both working class students and women tend to be over-represented at the community college and under-represented at university. Graduates from community colleges are supposed to fill semi-professional and technical middle level jobs, but it is not clear that they have much of an advantage over high school graduates (Pincus, 1980). If this is true, women will move into community college courses whatever their content, and pressure to keep women's jobs at the community college rather than the university level will be strong. The community college will be used to keep women from competing for professional jobs, to keep them in relatively low status work.

At the university level, we again find that males and females tend to be different programs of study (see Table 7). Arts and science is the only programme that has more or less equal representations of males and females, but even here there are more women in English and French, more men in mathematics and economics. Women constitute more than 90% of the student body in household science, nursing, rehabilitative medicine, and secretarial science; over 70% in library and social work; over 60% in education, and the fine and applied arts. The smallest proportions of women are found in engineering, forestry, dentistry, architecture, and religion.

The percentage of women in most faculties has increased, as the total percentage of females at university increases, but it has increased substantially more than that in most male areas such as law, architecture,

medicine, dentistry, agriculture, veterinary medicine, and commerce. Engineering and religion stand out as the only male fields where women are not increasing their representation faster than in the university as a whole. Engineering had the lowest percentage of female students of any faculty in 1972, and today it remains even more strikingly the lowest. Much attention has been paid to the increasing number of women entering such traditionally male professions as law and medicine. It is important to ask why desegregation by sex is taking place in these programmes at this level, in order to understand some of the general processes behind sex segregation in education. Do these changes provide evidence that desegregation can also happen in other areas through schooling? Some of the changes are clearly due to admissions committees in these faculties becoming more receptive to female applications. While there used to be formal and informal quotas on the number of females admitted, these seem to have disappeared. At the same time, liberal attitudes toward sexual equality are most predominant among more educated women, those women who would think of entering the professions. Women have traditionally done well in the social sciences which relate to law and commerce, and in biology and other medical programmes which relate to medicine and dentistry. As more and more women participate in the labour force for longer periods of time, they are willing to invest in longer training.

The organization of university courses in relation to the labour market is different in different knowledge areas. In many professional and semi-professional areas, the degree obtained is necessary in order to work in the area, for example, in education, medicine, architecture, and law. This relationship has become stronger over time, for example,



in teaching it used to be common to be able to teach without a university degree; these days it is not. In other areas, the dominance of professional qualifications is more questionable. Graduates in engineering and commerce may compete with arts graduates for the same job. In most cases at the university, however, education is tied to jobs in a much clearer manner than it is lower down in the educational system.

This brief overview of sex segregation in schools has shown that concentrating on the amount of education obtained by each sex conceals a great deal of streaming by sex, beginning in the high school. Males and females are often not competing with one another by the time they reach the end of their schooling, particularly if they are in vocational programs. Those students who finish school after grade 12 are usually in vocational courses before they graduate. Those who go on to community colleges are separated there by their vocational training. Those who make it to university are streamed as undergraduates unless they are in arts and sciences, in which case they get streamed in the professional faculties that they attend afterwards. Only those students who get a general academic education and do not follow it up with a vocational programme are in classes that have relatively equal numbers of males and females.

I have also argued that understanding the reasons for and the significance of patterns of enrolment necessitates looking at the way educational programmes are organized in relation to the labour market. Women are found in job training courses earlier in their careers than are men--in the high school and community college. As a result, women

get more job training in schools than do men. This increases the supply of trained women workers, and has allowed employers to get well-qualified women for low wages. It is ironic that women's education is often more vocational than men's, in spite of the fact that women's place has traditionally been in the home, not in the labour market at all, and that "general" education would presumably fit her better for her role as "companion, mother, and helpmate."

#### The Economic Returns to Education for Women

Women are clearly disadvantaged in the labour force. They earn about 60% of what men earn, partly because they work at different jobs and partly because they are paid less for similar work. What relevance does the education of women have for their lower economic status? Why do their relatively high achievement levels in school not translate into higher incomes and access to men's jobs? Are there ways that women's educational achievements can be used to break down economic barriers, or is the promise of education for women a hollow one?

Education does affect women's labour force activity. Increasing her education increases the likelihood that a woman will participate in the labour force. In 1971, 36% of women with some high school education were in the labour force, 50% of women who had completed high school were in the labour force, and 55% of women with a university degree were in the labour force (Gunderson, 1976). Although education tends to decrease unemployment rates for both males and females, it does so less strongly for women. In 1971, the ratio of male to female unemployment was 1 to 7 for those who had completed university, and 1 to 2 for those with a high

school education, and 1 to 1 for those with an elementary education or less.

Status attainment researchers have concluded that education plays more or less the same role for women as for men in increasing the status of the jobs they can obtain. The relationship between educational attainment and occupational status is as strong or stronger for women (Goyder and Pineo, 1973; Featherman and Houser, 1976) and job status for both sexes is becoming more closely related to educational level (Halsey, 1977; Featherman and Houser, 1976). Anisef found that the women in his sample obtained jobs with higher prestige than the men overall, although this effect decreased with experience in the labour market. When he broke down his data by level of education obtained, he found that a woman with less than a university education gets a first job that is higher in status than the job a male with an equivalent education gets. But women with university degrees get jobs that are lower in status than men with an equivalent education. Five years later, women are at an increased disadvantage if they have university or college degrees, and at an increased advantage at lower levels of education.

The status of the jobs women get is about equal to the status of the jobs men get, and the shape of the distribution is also similar, although women are underrepresented at the top end (Treiman, 1975). This is partly because the education levels of the people filling the job constitute one of the ways of measuring prestige on socio-economic indices and we have seen that women are well educated. When prestige is measured independently, through public opinion polls, the results correlate strongly with the socio-economic indices, suggesting that

education does affect the status a job is credited with. Women also tend to be in white collar jobs, considered more prestigious in the public's mind. The confounding of education with status and the fact that status indices do not reveal women's disadvantages in the labour force, make income more relevant for this investigation.

Although women's education gets them job status, it does not get them income. Women earn far less than men for every year of education they complete, and the ratio of male to female earnings has not improved over time. Featherman and Hauser (1976) found that the earnings benefit of an additional year of schooling was \$279 for males and \$81 for females in 1962, and it increased to \$406 for males and \$180 for females in 1973. This constitutes a much larger percentage increase for females, but the absolute dollar amount of the difference became larger over that period. Statistics Canada (1979b) shows that women with a university degree in 1977 earned on the average, \$11,363.00, whereas men with a university degree earned \$20,337.00. Women with some high school education earned \$5,766.00, whereas men with the equivalent education earned \$12,085.00. Women with university degrees were earning on the average less than men with only some high school education.

Starting wages give a "purer" estimate, uncontaminated by length of time in the labour force, of what employers will pay for male and female graduates with the same education. Anizef (1980) finds that the starting salaries of women are about 80% of the starting salaries of men. Women's disadvantage is greatest out of high school, and least at the community college level.

Most studies of the impact of education on jobs take into account



only the total number of years of education obtained. There is, however, some evidence on the impact of the kind of courses taken, which indicates that even when they graduate from the same course, women get paid less than men. Anisef (1980) shows that for males and females graduating in the high school academic programme, the salary difference is \$3,000.00. In commercial courses, the gap is \$2,300.00, and in technical and vocational courses the gap is \$2,000.00. The gap is least in the industrial programmes and further evidence for the advantage to girls of enrolling in these courses is that they make \$1,400.00 more than the girls in the academic programme, and almost \$3,000.00 more than the girls in the commercial programme.

Statistics Canada (1980) reports similar data for community college graduates. In every case, the males graduating from a course make more money than the girls graduating from the same course. For two-year diploma graduates the difference is \$5,000.00 in general arts and science; \$4,000.00 in primary industry; \$3,000.00 in applied sciences, community services, and business management; \$2,000.00 in trades and crafts and engineering; and is lowest (\$1,000.00) in mass communication. Taking medical and dental services or computer science raised women's salaries most relative to other women. The same survey reports income data for university graduates by field of study. The differences ranged from about \$100.00 in the fine and applied arts, and in the humanities to \$2,800.00 in engineering, and \$1,600.00 in business management and commerce, the special sciences, and agricultural and biological sciences. Women in engineering and education earned the highest salaries of any women graduates.

A more sophisticated analysis would have to be performed to see which kinds of courses at what levels reduced the income gap between the sexes, and which courses increased it; which courses increase women's earnings relative to other women, and which decrease them. Marsden (1975) concludes that graduating in science is most important in women's achievement. But the income data reported above show that it is often here where the largest male/female differences in earnings occur.

These figures on the effect of education on employment status and earnings raise questions that regression co-efficients and tables of numbers cannot answer. What explains the lack of income returns to education for women? Can education be used to equalize male and female incomes? The answers lie in looking at the organization of the work women do, and the way schooling is treated in different occupations. It is especially important to take into account a segregated work world and ways of breaking down the segregation, issues not raised in most of the research.

Men and women with similar levels of education get quite different kinds of jobs (see Table 8). Half of the women with high school education go into clerical work. The men are much more dispersed, and much more heavily concentrated in the blue collar areas of construction, machinery, product fabricating, and transport, as well as in managerial and sales positions. Women with university education are overwhelmingly in teaching, medicine, and clerical work. Men, again, are more dispersed, and are found much more frequently in scientific areas, and in management and sales positions. We need to look at the organization and characteristics of the jobs that women get in order to understand why

education has the kinds of rewards that it does. There are a number of characteristics of women's jobs that help explain why we find the relationship we do between women's education and their status and income.

Oppenheimer (1970) has noted that the jobs that women get systematically underpay for the education and skill levels they demand. She argues that this came about because of a demand for educated and cheap labour that could not be met through male labour. When occupations needing "middle quality," i.e. relatively well-educated labour expanded rapidly, the demand was met through using women. These occupations were especially teaching and office work. Using males would have meant either an increase in cost or a decrease in "quality" (education). This constitutes an important qualification to the notion that women are simply cheap labour. It is the fact that they are skilled in a way that a male supply of labour would not be that makes them attractive to employers. This observation helps to explain the relationship between prestige and income returns to education for women. Prestige builds in education levels, as noted earlier.

The fact that the demand for female labour has been a demand for skilled labour is related to the fact that women's jobs tend to require extensive education before entry. Skill training tends to be done in public educational institutions at the taxpayers' and the students' expense, rather than gradually, on the job, at the employers' expense.

Occupations such as secretary, school teacher, librarian, nurse, and many types of laboratory technicians are examples of occupations from which a fair amount of education and some training are required...(they) can

be almost entirely trained for before working, making women less costly risks as workers. (Oppenheimer, p. 105)

Women fill almost half of all the professional and technical jobs, and have maintained their share of these jobs since 1941 (Armstrong & Armstrong, 1978, p. 36). Women constituted 72% of clerical workers in 1971, and this is the other occupational area where training at school before entry to a job would usually be necessary.

The necessity of pre-entry job training for women can be explained by women's presumed and actual attachment to the family. Employers assume women will be temporary workers, and prefer not to invest their own resources in training them. The longer an employee stays with a firm, the longer the period over which the firm can receive returns on its investment. Employers, then, wish to minimize investing in groups "known" to have a low attachment to the labour force. If a man threatens to change jobs, "the employer at least has the opportunity to bribe the employee to stay. Such countervailing bribes would be much less effective in stopping women from having children" (Thurow, 1975). Women's pre-job entry education has made them relatively interchangeable, minimizing the costs to employers of work lives that are interrupted for child bearing. Employers will also be more concerned to control the training of employees who stay a long time and become leaders in the organization. As there is no assumption that women will do this, there is less necessity to control their training, and more willingness to trust the public schools to do at least an adequate job.

Related to these characteristics of "women's" jobs is the fact that these jobs have a relatively flat career profile. The first year teacher



does more or less the same thing as she does in her last year. Secretarial staff rarely advance into management positions, even when they know as much about the management of the office as their boss (Kantor, 197 ). Nurses do not advance on the job to be doctors. Waitresses and sales clerks are not on the first step of a career into administrative positions. While this is true of many jobs for both sexes, and increasingly so as educational credentials are used to restrict entry to higher level jobs, internal labour markets are less available to women than to men (Gordon, 1970). Women are more likely to be concentrated in "secondary" labour markets where turnover is high and entry jobs do not lead to better jobs. Women are also less likely to be in apprenticeships, management training programmes or other management-sponsored upgrading programmes which would lead to more seniority. One result of this is that the relationship between education and job entry position will remain strong for women, while it becomes increasingly less important over time for men as job performance and experience on the job differentiate them. This could partly explain why the correlation between education and job prestige is stronger for women than it is for men.

Both the process of job segregation and the unequal rewards women get in jobs similar to men's depend on personnel practices; on the ways people are hired and promoted, and the relative importance employers place on education in these decisions. Any hope that education will improve women's position in the labour market assumes that education will matter to employers.

But studies of the process of getting a job, show that education is often quite a small factor (Granovetter, 1974; Bullock, 1973; Freedman,

1969). Personal contacts, subjective judgments and personality characteristics are very important. Discrimination against women, whatever their qualifications, persists and whether it is rational, based on reasonable assumptions about women's different relationship to the family and work, or whether it is irrational and costly to employers, is beyond the scope of this paper. However, any discussion of the effect of education on increasing women's opportunities must always take into account the limit of a discriminatory labour market.

For most jobs at the high school level, education is becoming increasingly irrelevant. The reorganization of work through "scientific management" and the use of advanced technologies has deskilled many working class jobs (Braverman, 1974; Rinehart, 1975). Most employers of high school graduates do not ask about school records, even though typing and English skills are more likely to be assessed for girls in office jobs (Hall & Carlton, 1977). The use of computers, word processors and new communications equipment is deskilling much of this work. The use of educational credentials to screen workers may persist in the face of deskilling (Collins, 1979), but this is least likely with jobs lowest in power and authority.

Recent research on community college graduates suggests that they often enter jobs where their training is unnecessary and not rewarded (Pincus, 1980; Karabel, 1972). A large percentage of graduates from vocational courses do not get jobs in the areas for which they are trained (Wilms, 1974). Although exceptions to these generalizations exist in areas like apprenticeships where unions protect skilled workers, or in newly emerging semi-professions like day care workers or

dental technicians, there is pressure to reorganize work so that unskilled workers can be used interchangeably. Large companies are trying to replace journeymen with workers trained on the job in skill-specific modules. Complaints that unskilled workers are doing the work of dental technicians have been in the newspapers recently. Employers' concern with the education of community college graduates varies and is adjusting to changes in work and in the available supply of labour.

At the university level, credentials and skills are more closely tied to jobs, although this varies by field of study. Taking a medical degree is essential in getting a job as a physician. The same is true of law, medicine, and teaching. However, a recent report concludes, "in many cases, there appears to be a loose link between occupations and the fields of study of degree holders" (Ahamad, et al., 1979). For example, the situation for engineering graduates is more ambiguous. Graduates work in many occupations and may compete with people with a variety of backgrounds for jobs. Arts graduates are in an even looser position, where many factors besides their educational background will be considered in their hiring. But having a university degree of some kind does set workers apart, and is rewarded with substantial income returns (Collins, 1979).

To summarize, education will hold out more hope of leading to job and income changes where education is relatively important in the constellation of characteristics necessary for job entry, and this is more likely at the university level. In those occupations where education and jobs are closely tied, women who are entering the appropriate educational core stand a better chance of moving into the

occupation with its concomitant prestige and money in the same way that men do. In other areas, where education is less important and a variety of other characteristics are important, education will play a less important role in the access of women to the occupation.

In this section I have stressed the importance of understanding the way work is organized for making sense of the economic payoffs women receive for their education. There is no universal and automatic meritocratic structure that rewards ability at school. Women have not been rewarded, at least with money. The rewards depend on individual employers' decisions, and the way they take schooling into account, or fail to. Education is rewarded in different ways in different occupations, and the segregation of the labour force by sex makes this very consequential for women's returns to education.

Only by looking at the characteristics of different jobs can we understand to what extent education will aid women in their quest for equality in that job.

### Some Concluding Observations

Education has held out the promise of economic success for women, as it has for men. But education does not create jobs, it is merely one method of allocating people to jobs, a method favored in our meritocratic society as fair and just. And despite our meritocratic ideology, education is not consistently used to distribute economic privilege, and Michael Young rightly warns us of the dangers we would face if it were (Young, 1961). However, women could use a little more meritocracy, a little more attention to their school achievement. Employers pay much



less for a woman than for a man, when their education levels are the same.

Part of the problem is related to the kind of education women get and the way it is organized. Women are educated in ways that make their skills widely available within the public school system and preclude employers having to invest resources in their training. Women are channeled into a segregated labour market through a segregated school system.

Beyond this, the assumption that employers hire, promote, and pay on the basis of education is largely wrong. Although pay levels may be influenced by the necessity to attract skilled workers, this has not raised women's wages in their job ghettos or caused them to be hired instead of men.

Can schools be used to help women break through these economic barriers? Schools reproduce the labour force and there are many factors militating against changes in school occurring before changes in the labour force. Social pressures outside schools are enormous and shape school aspirations. The major factor of course choice is job choice, and students will continue to make safe choices; choices in areas where they know they can get a job, especially if the training goes on for more than a few months. Why would a woman in high school choose to go into industrial courses if she did not know that she could get a job at the end of it, if she goes into clerical work, her job is more or less assured? This will be particularly true in times of tight labour markets. Added to this is the fact that it is difficult to take a course that is not traditional for your sex. It is uncomfortable to be a woman in an engineering faculty, if you are sensitive to the sexism

that goes on around you. It is difficult to be a girl in a carpentry class, where you stand out, do not have your friends with you, and feel like a sexual object. The structure of school programmes tends to be quite rigid, with vested interests protecting the established organization of programmes. Particularly in vocational areas, a concern to meet the demands of the employer means that courses reflect the sexual demands as well as the other demands of the workplace.

However, conservative as schools are, they may be more receptive to equal opportunity than the workplace because they have fewer economic motives to discriminate. Teachers usually want to attract as many students as possible. Class cohesion and long-term productivity are less important than immediate ability to do the work. In these kinds of settings, women may be better off. And while the evidence is sparse, at the university level changes in education do seem to be preceding changes on the job. For middle class women at the universities, schooling may be becoming a place where they can make it in competition with men, even if some of the cards are stacked against them.

Should changes occur in school can they force changes in the labour market? Were women to have the same education as men and similar aspirations, any educational, meritocratic rationale for not hiring them would disappear, and either overt discrimination or change would have to take its place. Again, the prospects look brightest for professional women, although large wage gaps persist even for male and female graduates from the same professional faculties. But it is for professional women that education and work are closely linked; that a credential most closely approximates a job.

If these are trends, the issue of class takes on more importance for understanding women and education and work. The linkages are different at different levels of the school system, for women entering different types of jobs. In the rush to study newly successful women entering law, medicine, and business, we must not forget the high school, the community college and the reorganization of training and credentialling for working class jobs. Education will be used to increase and reorganize the importance of the class division for women, and studies of the process should not repeat the errors of studies of the impact of education on men. The use of schooling as a screening agent does not eliminate class differences and give everyone an equal chance. It restructures access to the top and accentuates rather than diminishes the distance between the top and the bottom.

Table 1  
Percent Distribution of Population 15 and Over, by Education  
and Sex, Canada, 1961 and 1977

	Elementary	Secondary		Post-Secondary				Total	
		Some	Completed	Some	Diploma/certificate	Degree	Sub-total		
Male:								%	000's
1961	47.0	29.8	10.7	5.4	3.1	4.0	12.5	100.0	6,053
1977	25.2	36.2	10.9	9.7	8.5	9.4	27.6	100.0	8,602
Female:									
1961	41.4	33.4	14.0	4.6	5.0	1.7	11.2	100.0	5,993
1977	24.0	37.9	13.5	8.3	11.1	5.3	24.6	100.0	8,851

From Picot 1980, p. 25.



Table 2

Educational Attainment of the Labour Force, Percent Distribution,  
by Age Group and Sex, 1977

		15-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
Male	Elementary	6.9	11.3	24.8	34.7	40.2	45.9	20.
	Secondary	68.4	45.2	42.2	41.4	38.4	33.5	48.
	Post-Secondary	24.7	43.5	33.0	23.9	21.4	20.5	30.
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.
Female	Elementary	3.7	8.3	18.9	24.1	27.7	30.4	13.
	Secondary	65.3	48.3	50.3	50.2	47.7	40.2	54.
	Post-Secondary	31.0	43.3	30.8	25.7	24.6	29.6	32.
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.
Both sexes	Elementary	5.5	10.2	22.7	31.0	36.3	41.9	17.
	Secondary	67.0	46.3	45.1	44.5	41.3	35.2	50.
	Post-Secondary	27.5	43.5	32.2	24.5	22.4	22.9	31.
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.

From Picot 1980, p. 38.

## B.C. School Enrollments by Sex

		Total Enrollment	% F
1880-81	High School	76	51.0
	Elementary School	2,495	44.0
1890-91	High School	256	55.8
	Elementary School	15,1295	49.2
1900	High School	584	63.1
	Graded and Common	23,031	48.5
1910	High School	1,988	52.7
	Others	42,957	48.3
1920	High School	7,259	57.3
	Elementary School	78,691	48.7
1930	High School	4,212	55.1
	Jr. Secondary School	24,420	52.1
	Elementary School	85,282	48.3
1940	High School	11,501	54.0
	Jr. Secondary School	27,223	51.7
	Elementary School	80,910	48.2
1950	High School	13,511	51.3
	Jr. Secondary School	34,824	51.1
	Elementary School	125,019	47.9
1960- 7	High School	30,582	48.3
	Jr. Secondary School	71,850	48.8
	Elementary School	219,328	47.9
1970	Senior Secondary School	66,457	48.1
	Jr. Secondary School	126,697	48.7
	Elementary School	333,952	48.3

data based on B.C. Public School Reports 1872-1977

Percentage of Population Aged 15-24 at School  
by Sex and Age Group, Canada, 1911-71

## YEAR

	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
15-19							
F	19	27	36	37	42	57	71
M	16	22	32	35	42	61	74
20-24							
F	1	1	2	2	3	6	13
M	2	3	4	5	7	12	23

from Robb and Spencer(1976)

Table 5

## Enrollment Rates in Full-Time Post-Secondary Education,

Canada, Selected Years

(percentages)

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	1951-52	1961-62	1966-67	1971-72	1976-77	1977-78
Non-university, post-secondary (relative to 18-21 age group)						
M	1.4	3.2	5.3	12.0	12.5	12.8
F	5.0	7.3	6.6	10.3	12.5	13.4
University undergraduate (relative to 18-21 age group)						
M	11.0	17.5	20.6	22.9	20.8	20.0
F	3.1	6.3	10.5	14.0	16.4	16.4
University graduate (relative to 22-24 age group)						
M	1.0	1.8	3.9	4.9	4.6	4.3
F	0.2	0.3	0.8	1.4	2.0	2.0
Total full-time post-secondary enrollment						
					21.7	21.1
					18.0	18.2

from Statistics Canada (1979)

figures after 1971

from Robb and Spencer (1976)

figures before 1971



Enrollment of Women as % of Total Enrollment  
at Undergraduate and Graduate Levels

	Undergraduate	Graduate
1920	16	25
1930	24	26
1940	24	20
1950	22	15
1960	25	15
1970	35	20
1977	44	33

from Royal Commission on Status of Women  
and Statistics Canada Education in Canada (1979)

## Full Time Female Enrollment by Faculty 1972-1978

Program	1972-1973 <sup>1</sup>	1978-1979 <sup>2</sup>	% Increase
	% F in Program	% F in Program	
Agriculture	19.3	38.4	19.1
Architecture	13.0	25.0	12.0
Arts	45.7	52.4	6.7
Arts & Science	43.3	50.4	7.1
Commerce	11.9	29.5	17.6
Dentistry	8.3	17.6	9.3
Education	61.8	73.8	12.0
Engineering	1.7	6.3	4.6
Environmental Studies	20.6	36.2	15.6
Fine/Applied Arts	61.6	63.1	1.5
Forestry	3.8	21.2	17.4
Household Science	97.3	98.2	.9
Journalism	54.3	61.0	6.7
Law	18.1	34.0	15.9
Library & Record Sci.	79.1	(95.4) <sup>3</sup>	--
Medicine	22.4	34.2	11.8
Music	55.6	56.2	.6
Nursing	98.1	97.3	-.8
Optometry	17.5	40.4	22.9
Pharmacy	53.9	63.2	9.3
Phys. Ed. & Health	43.7	51.6	7.9
Rehab. Medicine	91.5	91.9	.4
Religion/Theology	29.9	26.8	-3.1
Science	26.1	34.8	8.7
Secretarial Science	97.8	99.8	1.0
Social Work	70.7	70.5	-.2
Veterinary Medicine	18.5	42.6	24.1
<hr/>			
Total	38.3	45.2	6.9

<sup>1</sup>Figures from Symons (1978)<sup>2</sup>Figures from Statistics Canada (1980)<sup>3</sup>Not available for 1978. Given in parentheses for 1975-6 from Symons (1978).

Table 8

## Women in the Labour Force

From: Statistics Canada, 1976 Edition, Part 3

Percentage distribution of the labour force by occupation,  
for level of schooling and sex, Canada, 1971

Occupation	Less than grade 9		Grades 9 and 10		Grade 11		Grades 12 and 13		Some University		University Degree		Completed vocational course	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Managerial, administrative	0.5	1.1	1.2	2.6	2.2	5.5	2.5	8.2	3.0	11.9	5.8	18.8	2.7	6.1
Natural Sciences, Engineering and mathematics	0.1	0.5	0.2	1.2	0.3	2.8	0.6	5.7	1.3	8.5	3.6	16.8	0.8	6.0
Social Sciences	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.6	1.9	1.4	8.2	7.1	1.1	0.5
Religion	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.5	2.8	0.2	0.3
Teaching	0.4	0.1	0.9	0.3	3.5	0.7	7.2	1.3	26.4	6.2	40.5	19.7	6.5	2.1
Medicine and Health	3.2	0.4	5.4	0.7	8.4	1.0	11.8	1.0	12.8	1.8	12.3	9.7	20.1	1.6
Artistic, literary and recreational	0.2	0.4	0.5	0.7	0.6	1.2	0.8	1.6	1.6	2.4	2.3	1.7	1.0	1.4
Clerical	9.0	3.6	28.6	7.2	45.0	11.2	47.3	12.0	28.2	12.4	14.6	4.4	37.8	6.1
Sales	8.0	5.7	11.6	10.3	9.6	13.8	7.2	14.5	6.3	14.0	2.6	5.9	5.7	8.8
Services	27.9	10.4	20.9	10.5	11.9	10.6	7.6	8.5	7.9	7.2	2.7	2.4	12.3	9.5
Farming, horti- cultural and animal husbandry	7.8	11.2	4.2	7.9	2.5	5.7	1.9	4.4	1.5	4.2	0.4	1.1	1.5	2.8

Table 8 - cont'd

Occupation	Less than grade 9		Grade 9 and 10		Grade 11		Grade 12 and 13		Some University		University Degree		Completed Vocational course	
	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %	Men %
Processing	5.2	6.8	2.6	5.6	1.1	4.3	0.5	3.5	0.6	3.1	0.2	1.0	0.7	3.4
Machining	1.0	4.9	0.7	5.1	0.3	4.0	0.2	3.7	0.1	1.8	-	0.4	0.2	7.7
Product fabricating, assembling and repairing	13.5	10.1	6.4	10.8	2.4	9.0	1.4	7.9	1.1	4.4	0.3	1.0	2.4	15.4
Construction	0.3	14.5	0.2	10.8	0.1	8.2	0.1	7.8	0.1	5.8	0.1	1.2	0.2	13.8
Transport equipment	0.4	8.4	0.4	7.5	0.2	4.9	0.2	3.5	0.2	3.0	0.1	0.6	0.2	3.5
Materials handling	2.9	3.8	2.0	3.4	0.9	2.9	0.5	2.3	0.5	2.1	0.1	0.4	0.5	1.4
Other crafts and equipment operating	0.6	1.4	0.7	2.2	0.4	2.3	0.3	2.0	0.3	1.1	0.1	0.3	0.4	3.3
All occupations *	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

\* Columns will not add to 100.0 per cent since not all occupations are listed and also figures are rounded.

Source: Statistics Canada, Census Field, 1971 Census of Canada: Occupations, Cat. No. 94-729, Vol: III - Part 3: (Bulletin 3.3-2) (Ottawa: Supply and Services Canada, 1975).



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VIII

PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN THE UNIONIZATION OF FEMALE WORKERS:  
SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE OF CANADIAN BANK EMPLOYEES

Graham S. Lowe





PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN THE UNIONIZATION OF FEMALE  
WORKERS: SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE CASE  
OF CANADIAN BANK EMPLOYEES

In the summer of 1976 employees at two branches of the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce, one in Ontario and the other in British Columbia, organized themselves into unions. These two unrelated and largely spontaneous events launched a major bank unionization drive. While less than 1% of the 145,000 bank employees in Canada are presently union members, six different unions have successfully organized locals in over 73 chartered bank branches across the country (see Lowe, 1980). Bank unionization is thus one of the most significant developments in Canadian industrial relations for over a decade. Not since the federal government introduced the Public Service Staff Relations Act in 1967 has the potential to organize such a large number of workers in a single industry been so great. The trend is doubly significant because the finance industry has both one of the highest concentrations of female employees and the lowest rate of unionization of any sector of the economy.

Bank unionization thus provides an opportunity to reflect on the general problems and issues involved in organizing women workers. It is well known that women are not as highly unionized as men. In 1974, for example, about 22% of female workers in Canada, compared to 36% of the male work force, were union members (Bain, 1978:6). And as a percentage of total union membership, women have increased their share from 3% in 1921 to 27% in 1976 (Bain and Price, 1980). The most obvious conclusion from these long-term trends is that women are more readily joining unions. In fact, there is evidence that the negative

impact of female employment on inter-industry unionization rates (see Kornhauser, 1961), has been on the wane since the early 1960s (Bain and Elsheikh, 1979). Broad societal factors also figure prominently in patterns of female unionization. Compare, for instance, the nascent Canadian bank unions with a membership density of close to 75% in British clearing banks. Within Canada, we also find striking variations between, on one hand, militant female unionists in the public sector and, on the other hand, their largely unorganized counterparts in the private service sector. In short, the level of female unionization varies according to national context, industry of employment and occupation. Yet there is little research into what societal, industrial and occupational conditions either inhibit or facilitate collective action among female employees.

What follows is a preliminary step toward rectifying this problem. Specifically, this paper has a two-fold purpose. It will attempt to combine a documentation of why female bank employees in Canada are now beginning to unionize with a more theoretical discussion of the key problems and issues involved in studying female unionization.

The perspective on unionization presented in the paper rests on a number of basic assumptions regarding industrial behaviour. First, we will assume that a general theory of unionization is at once possible and desirable. Such a theory must begin with an explanation of why workers join unions and the underlying dynamics of the transition from individual to collective bargaining. This approach takes issue with the popular distinctions between white-collar and blue-collar unions and differences in industrial behaviour based solely on traditional stereotypes of male and female workers. This is not to deny that manual and white-collar unions are different in terms of their job and labour

market characteristics (see Bain and Price, 1972). Nor is it to overlook variations in industrial behaviour found between the sexes. Rather, all that is being claimed is that situational factors related primarily to the workplace but also incorporating the worker's social environment are much more important than collar colour or gender in the study of industrial relations.

This leads us to a second assumption. We posit that industrial relations is the process of control over work (see Hyman, 1975) and therefore involves deeply entrenched inequalities of power. Subordination thus constitutes a basic condition for all employees. We will argue below that it is the nature of powerlessness experienced by female clerical employees in banking - and not the fact that they are women - which best explains recent union activity. It will also be shown that basic structural features of the job are mediated by external factors, such as labour market processes and the worker's social role within, for example, the family.

In brief, the central concerns of the paper are, first, exactly how gender influences the origins and development of unionization and, second, why a particular group of female bank employees adopted collective bargaining. The first section of the paper will present an overview of some of the major issues involved in studying female unionization. With this as a theoretical background, we will then draw on data from 57 interviews conducted by the author with bank union members, union organizers and bank personnel managers to document the origins and development of bank unions.<sup>1</sup> We will conclude by setting out several directions which future research may fruitfully follow. This is an important task, given the dearth of Canadian research on the general question of women in the union movement (cf. Marchak, 1974).

Theoretical Perspectives on the Unionization of Female Workers:

George Bernard Shaw once remarked that the two groups most resistant to unionism were women and clerks. Now that clerical work is predominantly female, it is worth delving into the current status of this generalization. The relatively low level of unionization among clerical and other white-collar personnel has been attributed to the high proportion of women (see Kornhauser, 1961; Shister, 1953). It is not uncommon to find the characteristics of female workers identified as the obstacles to unionization. Shister (1953:421) is representative of this position when he argues that women are indifferent towards unions because they see their jobs as temporary and consequently treat work problems as transitory. This perspective is totally inadequate as an explanation of industrial behaviour simply because it ignores the influences exerted by structural factors both in and out of the workplace. At a minimum, what is required is an analysis of how women's position in the productive process, the labour market and the family influence orientation towards work and unions.

Ideally, one would begin to develop this analysis by comparing differential patterns of consciousness and action among men and women occupying <sup>similar</sup> jobs (see Brown, 1976). But the concentration of women into a relatively small number of unrewarding jobs through the process of occupational sex segregation often makes such a comparison difficult. Nonetheless, there are a number of questions which are central to an understanding of why women have not joined unions as readily as men: To what extent is the experience of the female worker in the labour market and within work organizations different than that of male workers, and for what reasons? Assuming, as we have, that situational variables connected with a worker's industry of employment and occupation strongly



influence unionization trends, what are the characteristics of predominantly female work settings which traditionally have inhibited collective action? And how does the patriarchal nature of our society and women's role in the family interact with these situational factors to stifle worker solidarity?

There are few answers to these questions to be found in the literature on industrial relations and industrial sociology. As Brown (1976: 21-22) points out, much of the writing on industrial behaviour is 'unisex' in that employees are treated without regard to sex differences (also see Novarra, 1980; Middleton, 1974; Anthias, 1980). And few of the empirical studies of the industrial sociologists make reference to women, although the resulting theories supposedly apply to them (Brown, 1976; Acker and Van Houten, 1974; Acker, 1977). This male bias in research draws inquiry away from problems associated with the position of women in the world of work. For as Feldberg and Glenn (1979) argue, the study of work has advanced along sex-differentiated lines, with job conditions defined as important in studying male workers and family responsibilities viewed as central to the analysis of women's work. The result is serious gaps in our knowledge of work: "When it is studied at all, women's relationship to employment is treated as derivative of personal characteristics and relationships to family situations" (526).

A new perspective is therefore required, one which rejects - or at least seriously re-examines - theories of industrial behaviour which assume the male case to be the norm. And as we have already suggested above, explanations based on gender per se only serve to mystify, usually because they provide ideological justification for the perpetuation of existing inequalities in the workplace. A far

more satisfactory approach to questions of female unionization would be to examine the interaction of the following sets of variables, placing particular emphasis on the structural dimensions of work: a) the worker's position in the job hierarchy and function in the labour process, with particular attention given to power and control processes; b) the operation of the labour market, focussing on the processes of recruitment and occupational mobility; c) the structure and philosophy of the labour movement and the degree to which it is institutionalized in the worker's sphere of employment; and d) the family situation of the worker and the extent to which patriarchal relations are reproduced at work through employer paternalism. Optimistically, this represents a tentative first step towards explaining the significance of gender in worker consciousness and action.

Part of our strategy here must be to reformulate the research question, asking why certain groups of workers do not join unions. In confronting this question it is helpful to conceive of a continuum of worker responses to managerial control of their employment conditions and the labour process. These responses range from passive acceptance on one extreme to militant collective resistance on the other. It is typically assumed that women tend towards the former pole, passively adapting to the conditions of their subordination and ultimately quitting if it becomes intolerable. This erroneously implies that women are inherently more passive than men for essentially biological reasons. On a practical level, this view leads to the generalizations often voiced in management circles that, for example, a female work force almost ensures union - free management.

Perhaps the most direct challenge to the passive worker thesis comes from Purcell (1979). She basically argues that the structure of

work - not gender - can explain both women's militancy and acquiescence in industrial relations. Using standard sociological definitions of militancy, Purcell (122-123) provides evidence of women engaging in this type of action even more so than men. Part of her argument rests on a critique of Blackburn's (1967) study of bank unionization in Britain. While Blackburn is accurate in claiming that women's inferior market position has a negative impact on their unionization rates, he errs in defining lower female job commitment as an intervening variable. Purcell proceeds to establish the lack of industrial bargaining power possessed by most women, in connection with the inferior market position of the industries in which their employment is concentrated, as the key variable. Data from British engineering and clothing industries is used to document that men and women workers join unions and engage in militant action according to the traditions of their industry, not according to their sex (122-123).

This challenge to the passive worker thesis supports our contention that organizational variables within the work setting are central to an understanding of female unionization trends. But precisely how does Purcell account for lower unionization rates among, say, clerical workers? Here she would make recourse to the unstable market conditions in the industries where these workers are employed. How, though, would this account for the historical situation in banking, which is hardly an unstable industry? In the final analysis, Purcell would undoubtedly argue that women have chosen short-term solutions to job problems - such as quitting - because in the particular industry no effective long-term solutions were available. This two-fold emphasis on the role of the market place is best summarized in the following quote: "Both men and women generally react in ways which seem to them to be rational

according to the possibilities of their market situation and the market situation of their employers. Women's market situation is frequently restricted and prescribed by gender, but men similarly situated in the labour market behave the same way" (130-131).

Purcell's critique of the passive worker thesis contains a number of weaknesses, mainly because it oversimplifies some rather complex social processes. Let us return briefly to Blackburn's (1967) study of bank unionization, to which Purcell refers. He suggests three factors as being influential in the differential unionization patterns found among male and female clerks: different aspects of unions may be attractive to each group; variations in work settings; and, most important, disparities in the commitment to work (55).<sup>2</sup> Blackburn's concern was whether bank employees joined a union, a staff association or neither. Regardless of sex, employees entering a branch invariably bowed to work group pressures and joined the dominant organization, whether it be a union or staff association. These branch norms were especially influential for women, a finding which a later study has corroborated (Brown, 1972). At no point does Blackburn claim that women employees are generally more passive than males. In fact, his discussion of apathy is instructive on this issue. Looking at a small group of female workers who gave no reason for joining either organization, Blackburn explains this lack of interest in terms of the nature of the work situation. Most of the women in the study were machine operators and because of poor working conditions, quit rates were high. Consequently, some of the employees had insufficient exposure to the propaganda of the rival organizations to interest them in either (214-215, 217). Blackburn concludes that only those employees with a high level of seniority who belonged to neither organization showed real apathy.



The influence of work group pressures is a key issue here, but neither Blackburn nor Purcell offer much by way of analysis. It may be that such pressures can be equally decisive for males in certain industrial settings. For example, Seidman (1951:78) suggests that had his research team been able to examine the motives of male industrial workers at the time they took out union membership, they probably would have found that many joined "simply because it was the thing to do." In contrast, studies of male workers in different industrial settings and occupations (see Prandy, 1965 on scientists and engineers; Roberts et al., 1972 on technicians; and Bowen and Shaw, 1972 on steel clerks) document instances where work group dynamics had little impact on unionism.

Probing this issue even further, we must be sensitive to how an emphasis on micro-processes - such as work group dynamics - may mask the influence of more macro variables. What are the broader circumstances which determine whether or not an employee's work group membership may be instrumental in fostering collective solidarity? Quite plausibly, female workers may compensate for the lack of intrinsic satisfaction in their jobs, given the generally menial nature of women's work, by placing greater emphasis on social relations with coworkers. This would obviously make such workers more susceptible to group pressures. The problem with Purcell's perspective in this respect is that its over-emphasis on market factors tends to level any real behavioural differences between the sexes at the micro level. Surely we cannot deny the weight of socialization patterns, social roles and ideology which buttress the subordination of women at work. It is interesting to note, for example, that Britain's National Union of Bank Employees was predominately male until the late 1960s. The largest absolute increases in

female membership came during the union's battle for recognition in 1967.<sup>3</sup> It was then that the banks announced the introduction of evening and Saturday openings (see Price, 1970). This policy shift pushed many women into the union, for they strongly opposed anything that would disrupt their leisure time and family responsibilities. Clearly, this suggests that women and men see unions as a means of achieving different goals. Additional evidence of this can be found, for example, in industrial disputes at Ford in Britain (Beechey, 1979:78-79). Males demanded higher wages whereas women wanted a shorter work week, no contractual distinction between full- and part-time workers, and sabbatical leaves.

What the above discussion suggests is that unionization is influenced by social roles and relations which women bring to their work. Karsh's (1958) study of how a largely female workforce in a U.S. paper mill organized a union and subsequently struck over recognition offers some fascinating insights in this respect. Especially relevant is Karsh's account of the 'non-joiners' and the 'fence-sitters' (36-45).<sup>4</sup> The former group was comprised of those workers who were still not union members at the end of the strike. Karsh points out that this group had the longest average seniority and, more centrally, over 90% were self-supporting. The latter group - consisting of workers who joined twice, once early in the campaign and again much later - were also clearly distinguishable from other union members. Many were primary wage earners with higher than average seniority. But more interestingly, few had unionist family members which meant they lacked the moral support these social ties provided and, not having been socialized to the value of unionism, they tended to join because of group pressure rather than through their own initiative. Two hypotheses thus emerge from Karsh's study. The first would hold that women from trade union families are likely

to be more receptive to collective bargaining. The second proposes that women who are primary wage earners are more vulnerable to fear of employer reprisal and therefore less inclined to unionize.

At the most general level, we have been demonstrating how the worker's actions on the job can best be understood in the context of the larger social structures and processes in which he or she is imbedded. The argument can be extended to encompass how the labour market is organically linked to the labour process within the firm. Two reasons for adopting this integrated view are offered by Blackburn and Mann (1979: 296): a) capitalism as a productive process presupposes the existence of markets, one of which is the labour market; and b) a worker's location in the productive process corresponds empirically to that in the labour market. Little comment is needed on the first point, but it is useful to briefly elaborate on the second.

Recent work on labour market segmentation (see Gordon, 1972; Edwards et al., 1975; Freedman, 1976; Edwards, 1979) provides interesting empirical and theoretical insights into how the labour market and the labour process are interconnected. These analysts attempt to show that changes in the productive process create submarkets based on different occupational characteristics, behavioural rules and working conditions. By logical implication, sex is not the major variable in explaining male-female occupational differences. The labour market is segmented into non-competing male and female sectors not because of intrinsic market changes, but as a result of employers adopting new techniques for controlling labour power and organizing it hierarchically. As the labour process under capitalism grows more fragmented, employers increasingly distinguish between types of jobs and therefore types of workers required. The main criterion used here is the degree of stability

the organization requires from each job occupant (see especially Edwards, 1979). Consequently, sex differences become translated into job requirements as women increasingly constitute the labour supply for the new mass of routine service and administrative tasks. Or in other words, the differential recruitment of women into jobs demanding passivity and dependency means that observed sex differences in organizational behaviour are structurally determined (Acker and Van Houten, 1974).

One aspect of the operation of the labour market which forms an essential part of any discussion of unionization is the nature of the labour movement. The structure and philosophy of unions, and the degree to which they are institutionalized in different sectors of employment, influence whether or not certain groups of workers will unionize. For example, it is often claimed that a major reason for lower rates of white-collar unionization is because unions have not been available to these workers (see Mills, 1956; Blackburn, 1967). Union recruiting campaigns may simply bypass workers, especially females, in marginal industries and subordinate occupations. And given the low levels of job attachment, as measured in high quit rates, in such areas of employment, it is unlikely workers will themselves seek the help of a union. In short, joining a union is not a fully voluntary act. Rather, it is circumscribed by the availability of unions (see Bain et al., 1973:57). Thus, to infer that because female workers are per se opposed to unions simply because they do not belong to one is to ignore these important features of a worker's market position.

A related question is why unions have not been available to many women workers. Part of the answer has to do with the the historical pattern of male domination of the labour movement. Unions emerged



principally as a means of protecting the interests of male craft-workers. Early craft unions, for example, sought to exclude women from the workplace because they undercut male wages. Male domination of the labour movement has resulted, then, in reduced female work opportunities and a maintenance of existing social customs (see Hartmann, 1976). Additionally, it has meant that organizing strategies have not placed high priority on recruiting female workers in those industries where they predominate.

Certainly the underrepresentation of women in top union decision making posts represents an obstacle in the way of organizing the unorganized female job ghettos (see Hunt, 1975). But also at issue is the very nature of the labour movement in Canada and most other advanced capitalist countries. Unions generally tend to be concerned with performing economic services for their members - practicing what is termed business unionism - rather than acting as agents for social change (Child et al., 1973). Given that organizing campaigns in female job ghettos would involve confronting the basic issues of discrimination and inequality in female employment, some male union leaders may consider it safer to avoid the area altogether. The rapid growth over the past two decades of white-collar public sector unions, some with large female memberships, has recently begun to challenge the hegemony of the male dominated blue-collar unions in Canada. Still, little progress has been made over the last decade in terms of organizing women in the private service and administrative sectors. For example, the Canadian Labour Congress established a White-Collar Organizing Committee in 1962. It was more than a decade later that the first concrete results appeared, with the launching of the Association of Commercial and Technical Employees and a subsequently ill-fated organizing campaign in

the Toronto finance industry (see Lowe, 1975).

Let us end this section with a brief discussion of how the forces of power and control to which women are subjected at work mutually interact with the patriarchal relations existing in society. The importance of including in the study of women's work the interrelations between home and work, as well as the sex structure of all types of social relations, has been well established (see Allen and Barker, 1976). Similarly, it is helpful to conceive of industrial capitalism as a system based not solely on production, but reinforced by culture, politics and dominant institutions such as the family (Lazonick, 1978).

A strong norm in Western societies is that in the sphere of employment, women should generally be subordinate to men (Wilensky, 1968). The male office manager and the female clerk or secretary is the classic example of the resulting sex structure of occupations (see Kanter, 1977). A major factor, then, in the lower union propensity among women is that they are socialized to accept subordination. As Brown (1976:33) argues, "girls' socialization in our society reflects and reinforces the structure of work opportunities for women." In other words, the process of socialization, 'choice' in the labour market, life cycle and adaptation to work are all interdependent. Without being overly deterministic about the effects of socialization, it seems that women have more to overcome than men when challenging the authority of a male boss. In fact, women must overcome the cumulative effects of patriarchal social relations which daily are reinforced and amplified in their dealings with management.

Precisely how does patriarchy augment techniques of managerial control over women workers? Turning to the feminist literature, we find that, contrary to Engel's claim, male domination predates private property and class society ( see Beechey, 1977, 1979; Beneria, 1979;

Hartmann, 1976). According to Hartmann (1976:138), a system of patriarchy based on personal relations gave way to an impersonal system of control founded on the hierarchical organization of production. This is how capitalism exacerbated existing sex divisions, taking advantage of the authority structure in the family. Women entered production at a disadvantage, becoming connected with machinery and unskilled labour. The resulting divisions within the labour market became entrenched through the sex-labelling of jobs.

The feminist analysis also suggests that women, under these circumstances, would seek individual rather than collective responses to work problems. What is lacking, however, is a detailed account of how employers use patriarchy to foster among female staff obedient and submissive behaviour which militates against overt expressions of collective solidarity. Serious distortions in analysis would result were one overly concerned with questions regarding male domination. A good antidote to this tendency is found in McNally's (1979) study of temporary female office employees. She argues that the demand for temporaries has little to do with manifestations of male chauvinism. She offers the following alternative explanation based on the increased demand for temporaries resulting from labour shortages in the permanent clerical sector:

"Neither the supply of nor the demand for (temporary female office employees) can be accounted for simply in terms of attempts by men to maintain a position of relative advantage in the labour market, or in terms of discriminatory attitudes of employers. The resort to temporary work is at least partly explained in terms of the objective conditions of clerical work itself. Once this is recognized, it becomes necessary to look for the wider economic processes which structure the contemporary nature of white-collar employment" (123-124).

In short, the lack of unionization in this sector of the female labour force would/<sup>be</sup>best accounted for by first examining factors

associated with the labour market, and only then moving to consider questions of patriarchy and control.

To summarize our discussion, we have primarily attempted to raise some of the central theoretical issues in the study of female unionization trends. After noting a persistent male bias in much of the research on industrial behaviour, we rejected explanations of lower female unionization rates based strictly on gender. We presented instead the outlines of a perspective based on how situational variables delimit the ways women usually responded to their working conditions. Specifically, we argued that organizational structure, labour market processes, the nature of the labour movement and women's social roles, especially in the family, interact with a two-fold result: female employment prospects are restricted and, in turn, create working conditions which discourage collective approaches to problem solving. With this theoretical perspective as a general background, we will now attempt to provide some empirical details of how a group of female clerical employees overcame all the obstacles we have noted to successfully unionize.

#### Why Women Unionize- Some Preliminary Evidence:

The current union organizational drive in Canadian banks provides a unique opportunity to investigate some of the theoretical issues raised above. Because the vast majority of non-managerial bank employees are women, it is not possible to draw any comparisons in terms of reasons for joining between males and females in similar jobs. Nonetheless, interviews with 37 recently organized female employees furnishes valuable insights into how factors associated with bank organizational structure, the labour market for female clerical workers, characteristics of the Canadian labour movement and patriarchal



social relations influenced the process of unionization. Interviewees were members of the Union of Bank Employees<sup>5</sup> working in a small number of Ontario or British Columbia branches of either the Bank of Nova Scotia, the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce or the Bank of Montreal. Each branch served as a case study of the origins and development of a local union, with the choice of branches designed to maximize locational and organizational differences. The investigation, being the first of its kind in Canada, is preliminary; generalizations are made with caution and must be viewed as tentative. However, UBE member interviews were supplemented by twenty interviews with former members of the United Bank Workers section of SORWUC, organizers and officials from all major unions in banking and bank personnel managers. In addition, documentary evidence on the unionization drive was obtained from union, bank and Canada Labour Relations Board records.

Let us begin with a 'profile' of the typical union member interviewed for the study: a woman of 32 years with high school education and at least four years of banking experience; married with a family; no previous union involvement but with unionists among family and friends; and currently holding an elected position in the bank union. As we will see below, the story which each of these women told of why they unionized was remarkably similar. The fact that they were the first bank employees to unionize in their respective communities underlines the significance of their actions. Indeed, unionization originated because of the actions of the employees and not through organizational efforts of the established labour movement. This seriously challenges stereotypes of bank employees as passive, apathetic and anti-union.

What role did the labour movement play in launching bank unions? The first pertinent observation is that neither of the pioneering unions

in the field could be considered as part of the mainstream of Canadian trade unionism. SORWUC was an independent, Vancouver-based feminist union dedicated to organizing women workers. In fact, it attributed its withdrawal from bank organizing as partially a result of conflicts with the CLC.<sup>6</sup> And in Ontario, CUBE was established by officials of the Canadian Chemical Workers Union - a recent break-away from an international and not part of the CLC - after they had been approached by bank employees.<sup>7</sup> SORWUC and CUBE filed their first applications for certification in August 1976. Not until the following September did the CLC announce plans to establish a Bank Workers Organizing Committee to coordinate a well-funded unionization drive.

It would be difficult to attribute this course of events to the male domination of the union movement. The principle impediment to organizing in the banking sector, at least as far as the CLC affiliated unions were concerned, was a legal precedent established by the Canada Labour Relations Board in 1959 (see Canada Labour Law Reports, 1959: 1797). The Board rejected an application by the Kitimat, Terrace and District General Workers' Union in Kitimat, B.C. to represent employees at the town's Bank of Nova Scotia branch on the basis that a branch did not constitute an appropriate bargaining unit. The implication was that unions had to organize bank employees on a regional, provincial or national basis - clearly an untenable proposition given the massive resources this would require.<sup>8</sup>

Turning now to the causes of the 1976 unionization campaign, the first thing to note is that the employees' actions cannot be explained in terms of ideosyncratic factors specific to their job or their branch. What clearly emerges from the interviews is that the underlying cause was a deeply rooted, generalized dissatisfaction with the arbitrary

powers of management. Feelings of powerlessness, victimization and frustration had reached intolerable levels. Interviewees liked bank work and planned to remain at their jobs, in large part because of financial reasons and the lack of employment opportunities elsewhere in their communities. Quitting, the traditional individualistic solution to job dissatisfaction, was no longer a viable option. While pervasive complaints about what employees termed 'poor management' laid the foundation for the transition from individual to collective bargaining, specific catalysts - ranging from haphazard holiday scheduling to the unjust dismissal of a coworker - were what ultimately sparked organizational efforts.

The best expression of the root cause of unionization is found in the 'employees' explanations of why they embraced collective bargaining. The following statements clearly indicate that, regardless of the branch, there existed a fundamental dissatisfaction with the arbitrary way in which management treated employees. A Commerce teller in Ottawa described how "just the feeling of worthlessness" in the eyes of management induced her to join the union. A coworker explained that she was "tired of being a pawn, being told what to do and when to do it by a bunch of incompetent people (ie: branch management)." A clerk in a small British Columbia branch defined her powerlessness in these terms: "I felt so powerless. I wanted a say in how my working life is going to be run. I just didn't want to be pushed around." A clerk in another B.C. branch, with over 25 years of banking experience, echoed that management had been mistreating employees for too long and that she "couldn't put up with it any longer." Employees in the Simcoe area of Ontario who founded CUBE voiced similar concerns regarding the lack of human relations in personnel management. They emphasized that

they lacked any control over their working conditions because all key decisions were made by an anonymous 'they' at Toronto head office. And finally, Bank of Montreal employees in both Ottawa and Windsor reiterated how they too were "tired of being pushed around by management." In sum, what interviewees hoped to achieve through unionization was fair and equitable treatment from management and a greater say in decisions affecting their jobs.

The events which actually precipitated union activity were instances when management violated the workers' collective sense of equity and fairness. What is noteworthy about this list of grievances, aside from the similarities among the branches studied, is that each grievance provided concrete evidence of the more diffuse problems of powerlessness and 'poor management'. Here, then, are some of the standard issues which fuelled the organizing campaigns: understaffing; lack of holiday relief staff and disorganized holiday scheduling; poorly maintained equipment and overcrowded premises; favouritism and arbitrariness in promotion and salary decisions; lack of communications and consultation on organizational changes; management's lack of respect and insensitivity in human relations; management trainee schemes which relied on experienced female employees to train better paid and upwardly mobile young men; general discrimination against women in promotion and hiring practices and the reclassification, demotion or dismissal of coworkers. Each interviewee invariably had personal examples of victimization by management to add to this catalogue of complaints.

On the surface, one would expect that low wages would have been the central grievance. While it is true that higher wages became an important union demand, the wage question was actually a secondary issue in initial organizing. Certainly low wages alone could not have



caused unionization. Higher wages tended to become a rallying point only after more fundamental concerns, such as favouritism in the way decisions regarding wages and promotions were made, had achieved collective expression. This is not to deny, however, that an adequate salary is a genuine concern for female employees in banks and elsewhere. But it should also be pointed out that, far from being straight forward complaints about salary levels, wage grievances may serve as a vehicle for articulating other less tangible problems reflecting the general subordination of the worker.

It also would not have come as much of a surprise had employee dissatisfaction focussed on the lack of opportunities for women to enter management.<sup>10</sup> However, our evidence indicates that while most women intended to remain in banking few aspired to management positions. Interviewees took pride in their work, considering contact with the public, 'team work' with other employees and no shift work as advantages of the job. But they worked basically for economic reasons. They simply wanted their contribution to the bank to be duly recognized and rewarded; any desire to 'get ahead' was usually within the framework of the non-managerial hierarchy. Longer hours, added responsibilities and a disruption of home life were seen as the main disadvantages of moving into management. However, employees were committed to the principle that more opportunities to enter management should exist for those women holding such career goals. While this demand for the elimination of discriminatory promotion practices regarding careers in management was at issue in unionization, more important was that particularistic criteria in promotion decisions be replaced by the criteria of seniority and merit.

Banks therefore exemplify how the recruitment process combines

with the sexual division of labour within the organization to restrict women to routine clerical jobs (see Bossen, 1976). Management recognize the magnitude of the problem and have recently implemented a variety of policies and programmes to counter it. For example, the Royal Bank's Task Force on the Status of Women reported in 1977 that while formally egalitarian, the organization's policies and practices were de facto discriminatory. Consequently, an equal opportunity coordinator was established and programmes designed to eliminate discriminatory management behaviour initiated. Interviewees were well aware of the more privileged position of men in the bank. A common source of discontent was how young male accountants, with considerable authority but little experience, would disrupt branch routine and mistreat female staff. The accountants (called administration managers in some banks) worked in a variety of branches for short periods in order to learn the methods of branch management. Yet part of their job involved managing daily branch operations and personnel matters. Both functions required organizational and human relations skills often lacking among accountants. Indeed, the accountants were expected to learn these skills while on the job.

This leads us to perhaps the most important comment we can offer regarding the organizational factors underlying unionization in banks. Bank administration is a combination of the particularistic and the bureaucratic. On one hand, banks conform to the bureaucratic model of large-scale organizations. On the other hand, however, the formal rules, regulations, communication systems and managerial controls seem to break down as one moves out of the central offices into the network of small branches spread across the country. Despite highly centralized controls over all matters of employee relations, it is difficult for head office to effectively monitor the quality and uniform-

ity of management in the decentralized, geographically dispersed operating units. Consequently, branch management often adopted an ad hoc approach which resulted in charges of favouritism, arbitrariness and insensitivity. The accountant problem described above was but one manifestation of this basic structural weakness. Ironically, employees reacted to particularistic branch management by demanding a greater degree of bureaucracy through unionization. Rules and regulations - albeit more equitable and rational ones contained in a collective agreement - were clearly preferable to the uncertainty which pervaded employee relations prior to unionization.

Many of these sources of dissatisfaction probably exist in other branches which are not unionized. Recognizing the difficulties of obtaining a comparable sample of non-union employees, we can tentatively suggest that a number of situational variables were of strategic importance in precipitating collective action. The nature of work group cohesiveness, for example, was an especially crucial factor in successful unionization attempts. Unions have thus far been confined to the smaller branches, where social relations facilitate a high degree of group cohesiveness. We have already mentioned the interviewees' emphasis on 'team work' and good relations with coworkers. These group dynamics appeared to be a prerequisite for collective action. A contributing factor was the existence of strong informal branch leaders. As a general rule, unionization was set in motion through the efforts of one or two employees committed to the value of collective bargaining. These organic leaders largely depended on their good social relations with coworkers to spread the union message and recruit members. While one might expect group pressure to be a key factor in the decision to join, only several interviewees gave this as their main reason for doing so.

By extending our analysis of the workplace to include broader social forces, we can see how the community in which a branch was set influenced work group dynamics and leadership potential. All employees are embedded in a web of kinship and friendship ties which reflect the social organization of their community. Furthermore, community norms and the prevailing climate of opinion shape work behaviour. Both the relational and normative dimensions of community life can offer support to employees challenging the powers of their employer. For example, the success of UBE in organizing nine of the 13 Bank of Montreal branches in Windsor, Ontario is only comprehensible in light of the city's solid blue-collar union base. In Windsor and other union communities, husbands played a significant background role in their wife's actions. Usually husbands provided moral support through the various stages of the organizational campaigns. And in several cases, a trade union husband helped employees initially contact a union.

It is paradoxical that the small, informal branch setting which helped nurture collective action also served to counter this development by reinforcing traditional management paternalism. This approach to employee relations is based on the assumption that management is best able to protect employees' interests. This logically leads to the position that because employees are not fully capable of making important job-related decisions, they would only be taken advantage of by unions. More centrally, the dependency which paternalism generates made many employees fear management reprisals should they support the union. It is this fear factor which constitutes the greatest obstacle to the growth of unions in banking. Interviewees typically recounted how certain coworkers had been reluctant to have anything to do with the union lest they jeopardize their jobs.



Management opposition to the employee's right to unionize has been a dominant theme in Canadian labour history (Pentland, 1979:19; Jameison, 1971:51-52). This is especially true in the case of white-collar workers (see Bain, 1969) and bankers in particular adamantly believe that unions are unnecessary (Bairstow, 1968:55). Bank management thus made sure that their views on unions were communicated to employees through staff meetings, private interviews and circulars. In the extreme, employees at the Commerce faced a concerted anti-union campaign based on coercion and intimidation.<sup>11</sup> Generally, though, any type of employer resistance to unions is bound to have a chilling effect on employee collective action. Unions attempting to organize in the banking sector are at a clear disadvantage from the start because they face some of the most powerful economic institutions in the country. Compounding this is the industry's legacy of individualism and paternalism which makes it even more difficult for employees to break with tradition and exercise their legal right to union representation.

In summary, we have outlined the principle causes and problems of bank unionization. The changes in/bank employee relations since 1976 are best interpreted within a structural perspective. Recall that our theoretical discussion identified organizational, labour market, union and family related factors as interacting to pattern female work behaviour. The preliminary evidence we have presented suggests that bank employees organized despite the initial unavailability of unions in their industry.<sup>12</sup> And their family and community ties provided the necessary support for their actions. But ultimately, it was the condition of subordination which motivated bank employees to join unions. Facing restricted opportunities in the labour market and subsequently locked into unrewarding clerical jobs, female bank workers experienced

an acute sense of powerlessness. Feeling victimized by the arbitrary nature of management decision making, yet not wanting to quit, they slowly recognized that the collective problems they faced demanded a collective solution.

#### Conclusion:

It is now possible to offer an overview of how bank employees gradually made the transition from passive individual adaptation to collective action. It is useful to think in terms of four stages, with the first involving the individual's internalization of discontent. The employee would often tend to blame herself for job-induced frustrations. These feelings were discussed with only a few trusted workmates, if at all, and typical solutions involved apathy, withdrawal or quitting. In the second stage, the work group became the medium in which work-related complaints were voiced. While problems were starting to be defined collectively, solutions were still largely personal. Yet the fact that the group was acting as an outlet for fundamental grievances heightened the potential for a collective response. In the third stage, specific irritants developed and served to reinforce the group's definition of what constituted fair management practices. These irritants would eventually act as catalysts for organizational activity. This required a fourth stage in which unionization was identified as a viable means of dealing with work-related problems. But more crucial was the emergence of a natural leader who, having overcome the fear of employer reprisal, took the initiative to approach a union.<sup>13</sup> The availability of a union was also an important factor at this stage.

This rather crude model emphasizes that joining a union is a social act. Why an employee may or may not sign a union membership card can

only be understood within the larger context of workplace, family and community. Our theoretical discussion set out a perspective for studying industrial relations patterns among female workers based on the interaction of organizational, labour market, family and union movement variables. Evidence on bank unionization provides at least initial confirmation of the utility of this approach. But given the lack of research on all aspects of women in unions in Canada, it is worth going a step further and identifying key questions which demand immediate attention.

Three interrelated questions must form the basis of a future research strategy for it to be relevant. First, what factors have inhibited female unionization in the past? Second, under what circumstances have women engaged in collective action? And third, what has been the role of the labour movement in both instances? These are general questions which can be applied to any group of women workers. On a more specific level, one would want to make a number of comparisons in order to discern which situational factors are critical. For example, the ideal means of determining why some workers unionize is to examine why others in similar circumstances have not. This involves comparing male and female workers with the same jobs and industry of employment where males are unionized and females are not. Or in the case of banks, matching union and non-union branches and controlling for work group, family, community and managerial control variables would be highly illuminating. Similar comparisons could be made between white-collar / blue-collar and working class / middle class females as a way of investigating the influence of basic socio-economic, labour market and job factors. To conclude, in each of these strategies there is an element of praxis. By pursuing these lines of research, not only will we hopefully learn more about female unionization but in so doing help promote its growth.



Footnotes

1. This research is reported in detail in Lowe (1980) and represents the first major investigation of the causes of bank unionization in Canada. The interviews were part of a first stage of a larger project, which is still ongoing, and thus were largely exploratory in nature.
2. While the importance of work commitment in unionization cannot be explored in detail here, it is worth noting that there is Canadian evidence to indicate that male workers have stronger career orientations than their female counterparts (Burnstein et. al., 1975).
3. Bank unionism emerged in Britain in 1917 with the founding of the Bank Officers' Guild, the precursor to NUBE. A central aim of the Guild was to further the professional status of the male bank clerk. Interestingly, the union survived for about fifty years without being officially recognized as a bargaining agent by the clearing banks.
4. Karsh's sample consisted of just over 200 workers, with the fence-sitters comprising 16% and the non-joiners 14.5% of this total. Low wages were the key issue in the organizing campaign, with piece work prices, treatment by supervisors, organization of work assignments and layoff procedures also figuring prominently.
5. UBE is the directly chartered union of the CLC's Bank Workers' Organizing Committee. Included in the group of UBE interviews were six original members of CUBE, which is now part of UBE.
6. On July 31, 1978 SORWUC announced its withdrawal from bank organizing, citing lack of funds, stalling tactics by the banks in contract talks and conflicts with the CLC. This opened the way for the decertification of 26 locals, mainly in British Columbia. (see Bank Book Collective, 1979; Lowe, 1980).
7. The role of the Canadian Chemical Workers' Union is an interesting one. The top officials of this predominantly male industrial union devoted considerable resources to setting up CUBE at a time when they were struggling to establish their own union as an independent organization.
8. An important exception to the lack of union activity in banking prior to 1976 was the organization of 1,100 employees of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank in the Montreal area in 1967 by an affiliate of the Office and Professional Employees International Union. What distinguishes this case from more recent developments is, first, that the employer is a local savings bank and, second, that the union grew out of the failure of an internal staff association - led by male accountants - to extract salary increases from the bank.



9. Only at the Kimberley, B.C. branch of the Bank of Montreal was automation an important issue in unionization. However, what employees objected to was not that machines were being introduced, but that the way management was going about it created considerable insecurity because they did not know how their jobs would be affected. The problem, then, was one of poor communications rather than of automation per se.
10. This issue must be treated differently than that of blocked mobility, which a number of discussions of unionization among male white-collar workers centre around (see Mills, 1956; Lockwood, 1966; Silverman, 1968; Sykes, 1964).
11. The Commerce adopted a defensive approach to the union challenge, in contrast with the more offensive strategy of the other major banks. SORWUC and CUBE both originated in Commerce branches, but the bank's counter-campaign was able to prevent certification. The bank has been charged by the Canada Labour Relations Board (1979a, 1979b, 1979c) on a number of counts of unfair labour practice (also see Lowe, 1980).
12. One might take issue with this in the case of SORWUC. The union's entry into the banking field was made as a result of responses to leaflets it was distributing to female office workers in downtown Vancouver. Furthermore, a union activist working as a bank clerk was instrumental in organizing the first SORWUC bank local.
13. As bank unionization spread, union organizers were able to obtain the names of employees in non-union branches likely to be interested. These contacts, often reached through unionist husbands and parents, then took the initiative of arranging the first union meetings at their branches.

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IX

THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY: NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T

Martin Meissner





## THE DOMESTIC ECONOMY: NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T

Martin Meissner

### The Case of Mrs. Griffiths

A Canadian Pacific locomotive hit a car at a level crossing, and Mrs. Griffiths died a week later. That was in August 1973 near Hope. Nellie Griffiths and her husband had left their home in Edmonton, for what may have been the first real vacation of their married life. After a rough time, with her husband in and out of work, and a Family Aid Service worker coming to the house to help "with budgeting and with cooking low cost nutritional meals" (Mackoff, 1974, p.6), things had been locking up.

Through the services of Mr. Laxton, a Vancouver lawyer, David Griffiths sued Canadian Pacific Railways. From there, things were in the hands of the professionals, and at home in Edmonton things were going from bad to worse. It became hard to keep a job, to keep away from alcohol, to keep the children out of trouble, and to keep up the payments on the house. The mortgage company repossessed the house and rented it back to Mr. Griffiths. The plumbing was not working. The social workers were back.

Mr. Laxton asked me to be an expert witness at the trial in the Supreme Court of British Columbia and to prepare an estimate of the number of housework hours that a woman in Mrs. Griffiths' circumstances would do for the remainder of her life with Mr. Griffiths, for the purpose of having an actuary translate these hours into a monetary claim. At age 30, with a husband aged 35, and five children between 4 and 11 years old at the time of her death, Mrs. Griffiths would have done over 84,000 hours of housework until her husband reached the life expectancy for men of his age.

In his decision, Mr. Justice Mackoff reduced the amount claimed under the Families Compensation Act for "the loss of household services accustomed to be performed by the wife, which will have to be replaced by hired services" (Mackoff, 1974, p. 11) from \$157,410 to \$40,000. His reasons went as follows:

The actuarial evidence . . . only places a dollar value on services but it does not subtract therefrom . . . the dollar cost to obtain those services. It fails to take into consideration the cost to the husband in providing for the wife's food, clothing, shelter, etc., for the period of time for which damages for the loss of her services is claimed. It also fails to take into account the contingencies of life.

The prospects of remarriage of the husband require consideration. At the present time, realistically, the prospects are poor indeed. The plaintiff stated, "I don't think I would want to remarry". But even if he had affirmatively expressed his wish to remarry, it is most

unlikely that any reasonable woman would marry this man and assume the burden of raising five children in the circumstances herein described. However, with the passage of time, as the children grow up and leave home, his prospects for remarriage, should he wish to remarry, will brighten. He is 39 years of age and his youngest child is 7. Ten years from now he will still be a relatively young man, the children will have grown up and the prospects of his remarriage will be totally changed from what they are at present. As well to be taken into consideration in such cases was the possibility of the loss of the wife's services by reason of her being incapacitated, either temporarily or permanently, because of illness or accident. Nor can it be assumed in today's society that a marriage will not terminate by separation or divorce. None of the foregoing were taken into account by the actuary and that being so, the figure arrived at is obviously not the answer to the question before me. (Mackoff, 1974, pp.12-13).

A double irony seemed at work. A man received money for the missed personal services of his dead wife, while she was paid nothing for it when alive. (Note the exclusion of conceivable money transfers to the wife from Mr. Justice Mackoff's list of the costs of household services). In this official view, the improbable future wife was also not worth the money from Canadian Pacific that would have been meant for that part of Nellie Griffiths' un-lived housekeeping life which she, the unlikely second Mrs. Griffiths, would perform.

The case was a "first". It introduced into Canadian courts the recognition of the full value (in hours at least, though not in money) of a woman's lifetime of domestic labour. At the same time it confirmed its worthlessness for a living wife, while granting its value for the benefit of the husband.

In one breath, almost, housework is first noticed and valued and then it disappears again. Housework suffers that peculiar fate - now you see it, now you don't - from all sides. The American mass-circulation magazine for women, Ms., put the phrase 'working women' prominently on its cover of May 1980, and specified inside (p.2) who they are: decidedly not housewives. Over the full spectrum of opinion, the pervasive usage of 'working' and 'active' (as in 'the active population') turns the domestic work of women into non-work, the daily, year-long and life-time effort into inactivity.

It would not be much of a surprise to read that form of doublethink from men and from the political centre and right. If I want to find out what the practice is and how it might work, I should examine the most improbable case, as Robert Michels did when he looked for oligarchical tendencies in those organizations most committed to democratic ideals, namely trade unions and socialist parties.

In Marxist accounts, housework has been called 'unproductive', and a literature has developed in which that account has been (a) maintained, (b) corrected to recognize that it is after all 'productive', and (c) modified to say that, while housework may be unproductive, it does other important



things, such as producing use values and reproducing so-called labour power. The tone of the 'unproductive' designation is unsavory, ringing of parasitism (it reminds of Rosa Luxemburg's denunciation of bourgeois women, in strident application of Marxist economic orthodoxy). What is forgotten is Karl Marx's remark that, "to be a productive worker is not lucky, but bad luck" ("produktiver Arbeiter zu sein ist kein Glueck, sondern ein Pech"). Marx emphasized that he saw "productive and unproductive work here always from the point of view of the owner of money, of the capitalist, not the point of view of the worker" ("produktive und unproduktive Arbeit hier immer vom Standpunkt des Geldbesitzers, des Capitalisten aus, nicht des Arbeiters". MEGA II 3.2, p.444). Why did he take the position of the capitalist, and not of the worker? And why do contemporary Marxist feminists take the point of view of capital, and not that of the housewife?

### The Question of this Paper

I approach the following account with the argument that these simultaneous appearances and disappearances are, in a restricted sense, ideological. I take the position of Theodor Geiger (1968, p.30) and some other sociologists of knowledge, that ideology is a distortion of knowledge which is discoverable in comparison with knowledge that is put together by systematic procedures such as the scientific method, or more simply by comparison with 'the facts'.<sup>1</sup> Discrepancies between accounts and the facts have ideological potential when they can be associated with social interests (in the classic construction, the interests of the ruling class). I am aware that 'facts' themselves are accounts, but the problem before me is, I feel, simple enough not to require setting a stop to that regress. For my purpose only a simple agreement is needed to take the naming and assembling of facts as separate from theoretical and interpretive accounts of them, and to treat the production of facts as a technical matter.

I have, then, two purposes. The first is factual, and the second critical. I want to determine how much housework there has been, relative to other work, and how that relation has changed in the 65 years from 1911 to 1976 in Canada. In answer to the question of how much, I go back first to the court case, in order to describe the information on the quantity of housework, and to show how an estimate is made of the life-time hours that a married woman would devote to domestic work. This account describes the magnitude of housework of a single (though artificial) person, and it details one of the components of the historical estimates to follow.

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<sup>1</sup> This position cannot be taken uncritically because fact determination and scientific method are themselves not free from historical context and privileged interests.

I will then describe the historical estimates and their results, for the entire economy and for most of this century. This factual component, the single contemporary case and the story of change in the composite case, should tell that a great deal is omitted in the 'non-work', 'unproductive', 'inactive' accounts of domestic work. Among the omitted parts, everyone's domestic work as a proportion of all work has risen, and it has reached half of the total workload. Because domestic work is overwhelmingly the work of married women, and married women are in labour-force jobs in rapidly rising proportion, it becomes important to see that women's contribution to the collective workload has grown to fifty-five per cent of the total collective workload.

The facts of the large and growing components of economic activity formed by domestic work and by the work of women lay the ground for the question of how these contributions have been treated in political economy. I plan to start the second part of this inquiry with a contemporary economist's estimate of the money value of housework relative to the gross national product, and compare it with my estimate of hours of domestic and women's work relative to the total of all hours of economic activity. I then turn to an account of the distinction of work as productive and unproductive in some of the political economists on whose arguments Marx's critical eye was focused; to Marx's own argument; to recent Marxist reviews of the productive-unproductive distinction; and finally to the contemporary Marxist-feminist treatments. I will ask how these accounts are put together and what they mean; how they can be related to the facts; and how they come to constitute an ideological practice in several of the senses in which Marx among others saw it.

### How Much Housework Does a Woman Do?

I an accounting of the magnitude, importance and value of housework, I start with hours of work, and I do so in three different ways. One of these tells of average hours spent in a contemporary day or a week, for samples of people with different characteristics. A second consists of life-time hours of one housewife, estimated with the data from the first kind. The third is an assembly of contemporary averages applied to the population figures for an estimate of the collective magnitude of domestic work, in comparison to non-domestic work hours, in the entire economy, and changes in that relation in past decades.

An example of the first kind of account, the contemporary averages, is Table 1. It shows a breakdown of housework into component activities, and lists the average hours spent in each by women with and without paid employment and with or without at least one child under ten years old. It also shows hours of domestic work for employed men. The table reports research results from data gathered in 1971, and for 340 married couples in the Vancouver area. It tells us that a full-time housewife with a child under 10 has nearly 12 hours a week taken up by work in the kitchen, or 23% of the total 51 hours of domestic work. Fifteen and a half hours go into cleaning (house cleaning



Table 1. Domestic work hours, by employment status and children under ten (Estimated weekly hours. 340 married couples in Vancouver, B.C., in 1971).

Activities	Housewives		Employed Wives		Employed Husbands
	No child under 10	Child under 10	No child under 10	Child under 10	
Cooking & meal preparation	8.5	9.7	5.3	7.2	.7
Dish washing & kitchen	1.9	2.1	.9	1.3	.3
House cleaning	9.1	8.6	5.1	6.9	1.1
Laundry	3.4	3.9	1.3	1.9	.1
Shopping	4.9	5.1	2.8	3.0	1.2
Care of children	.7	8.7	.2	4.2	.7
Gardening & animals	3.5	2.6	.8	.0	2.5
Irreg. food prep. & clothes	5.0	2.4	1.6	2.0	.1
Repairs & sundry services	3.3	1.6	.7	1.5	3.8
Total domestic work p. week	40.3	44.7	18.7	28.0	10.5
Necessary transportation	6.4	6.4	8.7	6.9	8.8
Total incl. transportation					
per week	46.7	51.1	27.4	34.9	19.3
per day	6.7	7.3	3.9	5.0	2.8
(Number of cases)	(131)	(106)	(85)	(18)	(340)

Source: Meissner, M., E.W. Humphreys, S.M. Meis & W.J. Scheu

1975 "No exit for wives: sexual division of labour and the cumulation of household demands". Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology 12:424-439.

and laundry), or 30% of all housework time. The table also can tell us the difference that employment and young children make, and how much less husbands contribute. When excluding necessary transportation, the working week of a full-time housewife is a full-time working week of over 40 hours. In comparison, the domestic work week of employed women drops drastically, while their workload goes up, combining job and domestic work.

As shown in Table 2, a study done in the United States in 1967-68 provides details for the distribution of housework hours according to the number and ages of children, as well as women's employment status. Virtually every step of lower age of children, and every increment in their number, increases daily housework hours, to the extent that full-time housewives with 3 or more children, of whom at least one is under 2, have 70 hours a week taken up by domestic work. The husbands in the same conditions show 12.6 hours a week, more or less the same that husbands in most other combinations of number and ages of children contribute.

In the two studies, the lowest of the average housework hours are 25.2 a week for childless married women with paid employment in Syracuse, and 27.3 hours for married women with paid job and no child under 10, in Vancouver. The highest figures were already mentioned, namely 51.1 hours for full-time housewives with a child under 10 in Vancouver, and 70 hours for women with many and young children in Syracuse.

#### A Life-Time of Housework

For an account of how much time a woman might spend doing housework during her life as a wife, I have put together the life of a 'typical' woman, Molly, and her family, as a repository of population distributions. My aim here is to illustrate a case, not to describe the population (as I will later).

Table 3 takes Molly through the fifty years of her married life, from the average age of first-time brides and bridegrooms (Statistics Canada, 1977, pp.209-210) to the time when her husband reaches the age of his life expectancy (Statistics Canada, 1979, pp. 14 & 16). These fifty years contain 19 of the 22 years in the labour force which correspond proportionately to the labour-force participation rate of married women. She will have two children, for the average family size, and return to a job in the labour force after the youngest has started going to school.

The housework hours come from the appropriate categories in Tables 1 and 2. Molly can expect in her married life over 100,000 hours of domestic work, an average for the two data sources of 2,084 hours a year, a quantity similar to the 2,000 hours that a man's fifty 40-hour weeks would come to.

We can build up a comparison of Molly's and her husband's life-time workloads which include their estimated housework hours during the marriage and the job hours in the labour force for the years from 15 to 65, reduced according to the proportion of women and men in the labour force. I take the job week of men

Table 2. Total household work time by family type and employment of wives (Average hours per day for all days of the week. Study of 1,296 wife-husband households in Syracuse, USA, 1967-68).

Number of Children	Age of Youngest	Housewives		Employed Wives		Husbands	
		(No. of cases)	Average Hours	(No. of cases)	Average Hours	Wife Housewife	Wife Employed
1	12-17	(22)	7.0	(20)	4.7	2.0	1.7
	6-11	(23)	7.0	(19)	5.7	1.4	1.2
	2-5	(26)	6.7	(16)	4.5	1.8	1.5
	under 2	(78)	7.9	(5)	6.8	1.6	.6
2	12-17	(27)	7.4	(15)	5.1	1.7	1.8
	6-11	(60)	7.4	(24)	5.4	1.6	1.5
	2-5	(93)	8.3	(28)	6.2	1.6	1.8
	under 2	(115)	9.3	(16)	6.9	1.6	2.8
3-9	12-17	(31)	6.6	(25)	4.7	1.1	1.4
	6-11	(125)	7.8	(41)	6.1	1.5	1.3
	2-5	(129)	8.5	(16)	7.3	1.5	2.0
	under 2	(151)	10.0	(7)	7.1	1.8	2.1
No-child households by age of wives							
Wife under 40		(35)	5.5	(49)	3.6	1.1	1.4
Wife 40-54		(30)	6.1	(20)	4.1	1.4	.8
Wife 55 + over		(32)	5.3	(10)	4.1	1.8	1.0

Source: Walker, Kathryn E. & Margaret E. Woods  
1976 Time Use: A Measure of Household Production of  
Family Goods and Services. Washington: American Home  
Economics Association, pp.52-53.



Table 3. Example of a Woman's Life-time Hours of Housework.

Year	Wife	Age of			Wife Empl	Wife's Housework Hours			
		Husb	Child	Child		(Syracuse)		(Vancouver)	
						p.Day	p.Year	p.Day	p.Year
1980	22	24			yes	3.6	1314.0	3.9	1423.5
1981	23	25			yes	3.6	1314.0	3.9	1423.5
1982	24	26			yes	3.6	1314.0	3.9	1423.5
1983	25	27	1		no	7.9	2883.5	7.3	2664.5
1984	26	28	2		no	6.7	2445.5	7.3	2664.5
1985	27	29	3		no	6.7	2445.5	7.3	2664.5
1986	28	30	4	1	no	9.3	3394.5	7.3	2664.5
1987	29	31	5	2	no	8.3	3029.5	7.3	2664.5
1988	30	32	6	3	no	8.3	3029.5	7.3	2664.5
1989	31	33	7	4	no	8.3	3029.5	7.3	2664.5
1990	32	34	8	5	no	8.3	3029.5	7.3	2664.5
1991	33	35	9	6	no	7.4	2701.0	7.3	2664.5
1992	34	36	10	7	yes	5.4	1971.0	5.0	1825.0
1993	35	37	11	8	yes	5.4	1971.0	5.0	1825.0
1994	36	38	12	9	yes	5.4	1971.0	5.0	1825.0
1995	37	39	13	10	yes	5.4	1971.0	3.9	1423.5
1996	38	40	14	11	yes	5.4	1971.0	3.9	1423.5
1997	39	41	15	12	yes	5.1	1861.5	3.9	1423.5
1998	40	42	16	13	yes	5.1	1861.5	3.9	1423.5
1999	41	43	17	14	yes	5.1	1861.5	3.9	1423.5
2000	42	44	18	15	yes	5.1	1861.5	3.9	1423.5
2001	43	45		16	yes	4.7	1715.5	3.9	1423.5
2002	44	46		17	yes	4.7	1715.5	3.9	1423.5
2003	45	47		18	yes	4.7	1715.5	3.9	1423.5
2004	46	48			yes	4.1	1496.5	3.9	1423.5
2005	47	49			yes	4.1	1496.5	3.9	1423.5
2006	48	50			yes	4.1	1496.5	3.9	1423.5
2007	49	51			yes	4.1	1496.5	3.9	1423.5
2008	50	52			no	6.1	2226.5	6.7	2445.5
2009	51	53			no	6.1	2226.5	6.7	2445.5
2010	52	54			no	6.1	2226.5	6.7	2445.5
2011	53	55			no	6.1	2226.5	6.7	2445.5
2012	54	56			no	6.1	2226.5	6.7	2445.5
2013	55	57			no	5.3	1934.5	6.7	2445.5
2014	56	58							
-2028	-70	-72			no	5.3	29017.5	6.7	36682.5
2029	71	73			no	5.3	1934.5	6.7	2445.5
TOTAL							102382.5		106032.5

NOTES: Married at current average age of previously unmarried brides and bridegrooms. Age of life expectancy at age of marriage is 79, and 73 for the husband. She does housework for her husband until he reaches the life expectancy of men of his age. Her years of employment in a paid job are taken as a proportion of the years from 15 to 65 equivalent to the 1976 labour-force participation rate of married women, i.e., 43.7% of 50 years is 22 years, and are taken to be from her age 19 to 24, and 34 to 49. She is assumed to have 2 children, three years apart, the first being born three years after the marriage.



to be 40 hours, and of married women 35 hours.<sup>1</sup> With two weeks vacation, the job year comes to 50 weeks. Molly's job year would be 1,750 hours and her husband's 2,000.

The labour-force participation rate of men 15 years and older in 1976 was 75.5 per cent. Applying that percentage to the 50 years from 15 to 65 makes for a 38-year job life of Molly's husband, or 76,000 life-time job hours. A married man's domestic workday in the Vancouver study is 2.8 hours, including 1.3 hours necessary transportation (mostly journey to and from work), or 1,022 hours a year. For 50 married years, that comes to 51,100 hours. The life-time workload of Molly's husband adds up to 127,100 hours.

Molly's 22 years employment in the labour force amount to 38,500 hours, and her 50 years of housework are 106,032 hours (according to the Vancouver study chosen for consistency with the husband's estimate). Her total life-time workload is 144,532 hours, or 114 per cent of her husband's.<sup>2</sup>

We have so far two representations of the quantity of housework. One of them consists of the 25-to-70-hour range of women's domestic work derived from contemporary time-budget studies, in varying averages for women with different demands through labour-force job and children. The second has built up these kinds of data into a life-time picture for one typical woman, and I have added a comparison of the estimated overall workload of this typical woman with that of her husband. Both accounts tell us that housework is substantial in relation to labour-force job time, and that married women's share in overall working hours is large.

It is now time to project these pictures farther, into estimates of the working hours of the population and into a history of working hours at home and on the job through much of this century.

### The Context of Labour and Leisure in Canada 1911-1976

The context of changes in working hours is defined critically by three developments in men's contribution to work. (1) The labour-force participation rate of men has dropped by 14 points from 89.6% in 1911 to 75.5% in 1976 (see Figure 1). (2) The per cent of the male labour force in agriculture has declined 45 points from 51.3% to 6.5% from 1911 to 1971 (see Figure 2). (3) Weekly job hours in the non-agricultural labour force have gone down nearly 14 hours from 49.6 hours in 1926 to 35.8 hours in 1976 (Ostry, 1979, p.80) and an estimated nearly 19 hours between 1911 and 1976 (see Figure 3). All these

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<sup>1</sup> The Vancouver time-budgets have about one hour a weekday of job time less for women than for men, the result of a greater proportion of married women in part-time jobs, and in office jobs where the hours are shorter.

<sup>2</sup> I have ignored housework hours that Molly and her husband might have done before marriage, and that Molly would do for herself after her husband's death, for lack of comparable data.

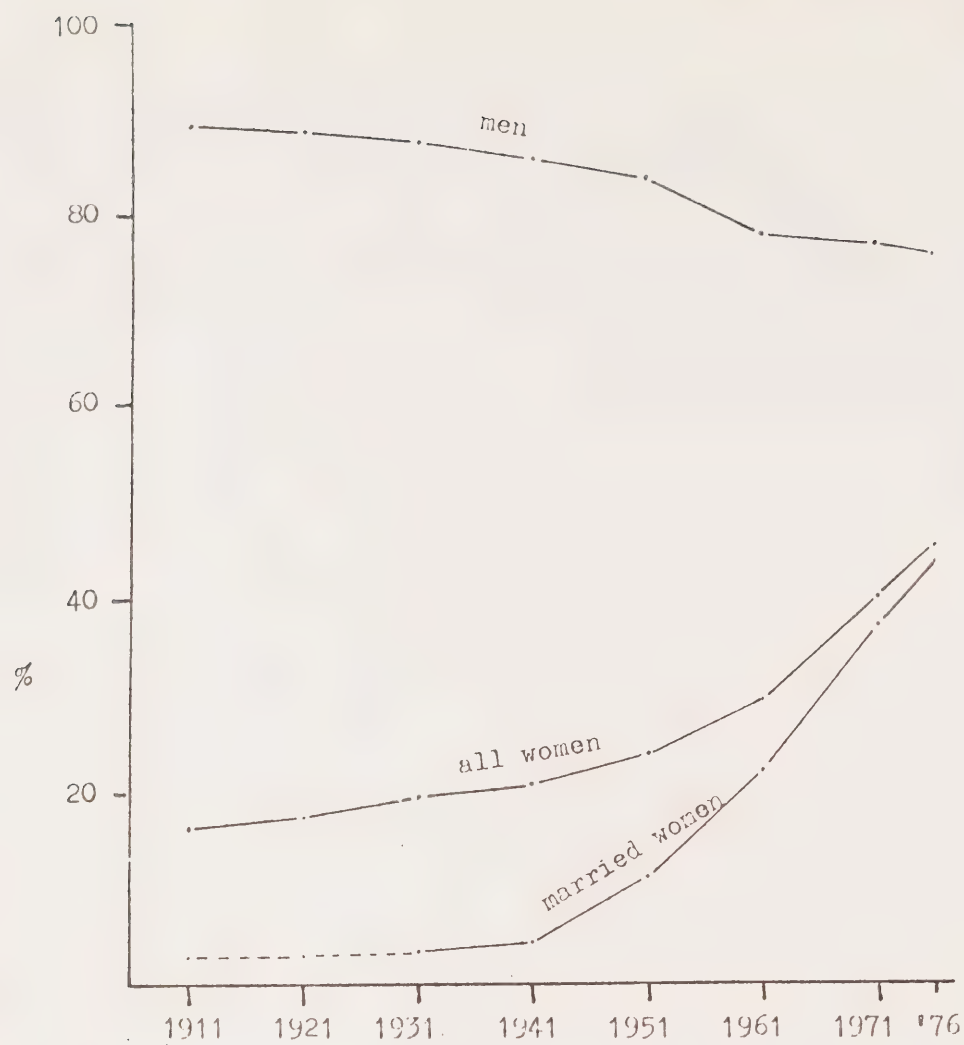


Figure 1. Labour-force participation: Per cent of women and men 15 and over in the labour force

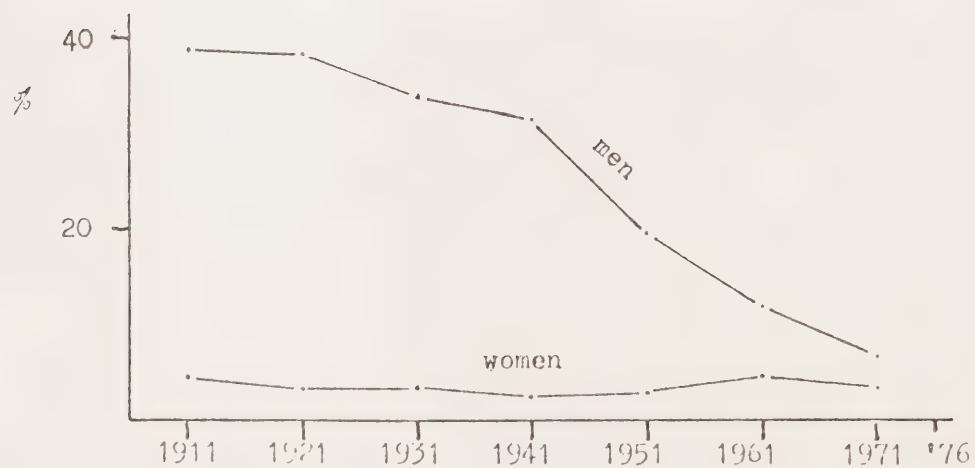


Figure 2. Per cent of labour force in agriculture

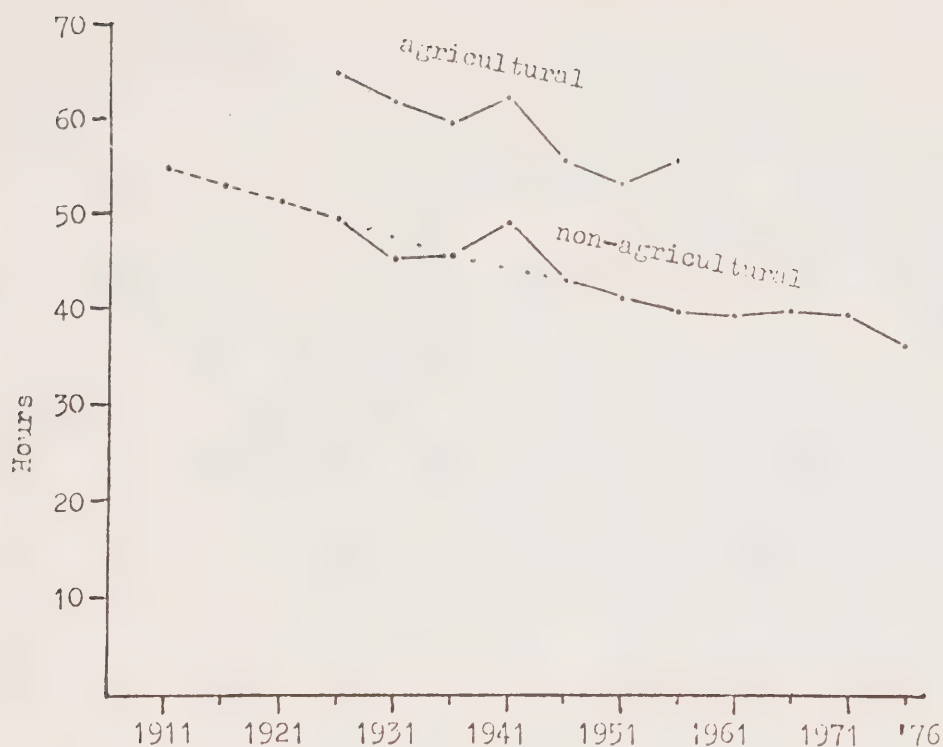


Figure 3. Average weekly hours worked in the agricultural and non-agricultural labour force

Sources: Non-agricultural labour-force hours: Ostry, 1979, p.80.  
Agricultural labour-force hours: Urquhart & Buckley, 1965, p.105.

Note: The 1911-1921 data are a backward projection, the average of the 1936-1926 and the 1946-1936 slopes (dotted lines).

tendencies have added up to a decline in men's contribution to work. There have been proportionately fewer men at work. The agricultural labour force has shrunk with its longer work hours, of about one third more than the non-agricultural labour force. Job hours themselves have been reduced. These facts correspond with the rosy picture of "the leisure society", characterized by fewer and fewer men (a term once more to be taken literally) spending fewer and fewer hours "at work", the result of automation. However, these facts are countered by other facts.

The labour-force participation rate of married women has risen dramatically, by 39 points between 1941 and 1976, from 4.5% to 43.7%. According to several comparisons of earlier and more recent time budgets, the hours of housework have remained stable for wives with and without labour-force employment (reviewed by Robinson, 1980). Only in the most strict and most recent possible comparison of an American 1965 study with a 1975 study, Robinson found a net decline of 2.5 housework hours in a week, after controlling for the effects of the decline in number of children, greater labour-force participation, lower proportion married, and higher average education of women. However, in comparing owners with non-owners of items of household equipment, Robinson found no effect of changing household technology on housework hours. When taking housework hours to have been nearly stable, the labour-force participation of married women to have increased, and the housework contribution of husbands to remain small and unchanged regardless of different household demands, we would expect a collective increase in overall workload of women, compared to a decline in that of men: the leisure society to be carried on the backs of women.

### The Collective Workload of Canadians

The procedure for estimating the labour-force job hours and the hours of domestic work is described in an appendix. The estimates require for each census year 1911-1971, and the mid-census of 1976, the number of men, and of married and not-married women, in the agricultural and non-agricultural labour force, that is, six categories of persons. These numbers were reduced by those not at work in the labour force and multiplied by the estimated weekly work hours in labour-force jobs.

For the purpose of estimating collective housework hours, the number of married women at work in the labour force was subtracted from all married women, in order to determine the number of married women considered in full-time housework (and thus including those who were nominally in the labour force, but at census time not at work, or out of work in the labour force, as well as housewives without current labour-force attachment). In addition, the number of not-married<sup>1</sup> women was determined, and the number of married and not-married men, for five categories of persons to which the different average housework

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<sup>1</sup> 'Not married' includes single, divorced, and widowed, while 'married' includes separated.



hours were applied.

There are no past Canadian time-budget studies before 1965. Results of comparisons of older and more recent time budgets in the USA (reviewed by Robinson, 1980, p.54) suggest generally unchanged average housework hours. A long series of 8 time-budget studies in the USSR allows an assessment of changes in housework time between 1923 and 1968, and housework hours have remained more or less the same (Zuzanek, 1979, pp.208-209). The seemingly best approach to estimating collective hours of domestic work for the 1911-1976 period was to multiply the number of persons in each category by the same time-budget averages for each census year.

The data sources and composition of the time budget averages for domestic work hours are described in Table 4.<sup>1</sup> the average weekly hours were multiplied by the number of persons in each of the five categories. Similarly, the weekly labour-force job hours were multiplied by the number of persons in the six categories developed for that purpose. For each census year I calculated the sum of all work hours, including domestic work hours and labour-force job hours of women and men, calling it the 'collective workload'. The contribution made to this workload by domestic work and labour-force work, and by women and men, married and not married, is expressed as a percentage of the collective workload in Table 5.

The facts of Table 5 are described graphically in Figure 4. It shows that the proportionate contribution of men's job hours (the top portion of the graph) has been shrinking during the period 1911-1976. The major interruption to the trend was introduced through the depression represented in the 1931 figures, and the war-time experience indicated in 1941. The middle segments of the graph have remained more or less the same, suggesting that the collective domestic work hours of men, and all work hours of not-married women, have remained the same as a proportion of the collective workload. The proportionate contribution of married women has risen steadily, except for wartime 1941. Since then the increase has been produced by the greater contribution of job hours and domestic work hours of married women. As a result of the dramatic growth in married women's labour-force participation, the housework-hours percentage of married women working at home full time has shown a noticeable decline since 1961.

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<sup>1</sup> The Vancouver figures for married women are weighted averages of the two categories, with or without child under ten, of Table 1. In contrast to the treatment so far, necessary transportation was excluded from these estimates. These transportation hours, especially for travel to the job, vary by city size and transportation means. Their differentiated assignment to labour-force hours and domestic hours is not possible in the current form of reporting time-budget data, and should in any event be kept separate from labour-force job hours and domestic work hours, in order to avoid distortions in the comparison of job and domestic hours.

Table 4. Domestic work hours per week in Port Alberni, Vancouver, and Halifax.

	P. Alberni 1965	Vancouver 1971	Halifax 1971-72	Average
Married Women				
- not in labour force	no data	42.3	48.8	45.5
- in labour force	22.0	20.3	24.5	22.3
Married Men	13.0	10.5	9.8	11.1
Non-married Women	13.1	no data	16.1	14.6
Non-married Men	9.0	no data	7.7	8.3

NOTES: Port Alberni time budgets (Meissner, 1971, pp. 255 & 257): data collected in May and June of 1965; includes only persons in the labour force; time budgets include one workday and a weekend or equivalent days off equalized to a two-day base; figures in this table are five times workday hours plus the days-off hours; domestic work includes housekeeping, child care, shopping and services, home and mechanical maintenance, care of animals, home construction, gardening.

Vancouver time budgets (Meissner, Humphreys, Meis & Scheu, 1975, pp. 434-435): data collected in 'lower mainland' area in spring and summer 1971; includes husband and wife pairs in which the husband, or both husband and wife, were in the labour force and had been on the job in the week before the interview; time budgets include one workday and one day off, and the figures in this table are five times workday plus two times weekend day or other day off; domestic work includes daily cooking, house cleaning, kitchen wash-up, shopping, services, laundry, child care, repair, maintenance, building.

Halifax time budgets (Harvey & Clarke, 1975, pp. 12 & 15): data collected in fall and winter 1971-1972, from a general adult population sample; time budgets include one day of the week, and were weighted to make up for unequal representation of days of the week; the figures in this table are seven times the average time-budget hours; domestic work includes housework, child care, maintenance, gardening, animal care, goods and services.

Table 5. The composition of working hours in housework and jobs in the labour force of married and not married women and men, 1911-1976.

	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	1976
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
MARRIED WOMEN								
-work at home full time:								
domestic work hours	22.6	25.6	28.3	26.0	29.4	29.0	24.4	22.8
-at work in lab.force:								
domestic work hours	.3	.4	.5	.5	1.8	3.7	5.7	7.1
-at work in lab.force:								
job hours	.7	.8	.9	1.0	3.1	6.4	9.7	11.1
Married women's workload	23.6	26.8	29.7	27.5	34.3	39.1	39.8	41.0
NOT MARRIED WOMEN								
-domestic work hours	5.6	5.9	7.0	6.2	5.8	5.8	6.5	6.9
-job hours	6.4	7.2	7.8	8.3	7.2	6.3	6.9	6.9
Not married women's workload	12.0	13.1	14.8	14.5	13.0	12.1	13.4	13.8
MEN								
-married:								
domestic work hours	6.1	6.7	7.5	6.7	8.1	9.0	8.8	9.0
-not married:								
domestic work hours	4.3	3.8	4.6	4.0	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.7
-all men:								
job hours	54.0	49.5	43.4	47.3	41.2	36.4	34.5	32.5
Men's workload	64.4	60.0	55.5	58.0	52.7	48.8	46.8	45.2
Women's & men's collective workload	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
DOMESTIC WORK HOURS								
as per cent of total	38.9	42.4	47.9	43.4	48.5	50.9	48.9	49.4
WOMEN'S WORK HOURS								
as per cent of total	35.6	39.9	44.5	42.0	47.3	51.2	53.2	54.8



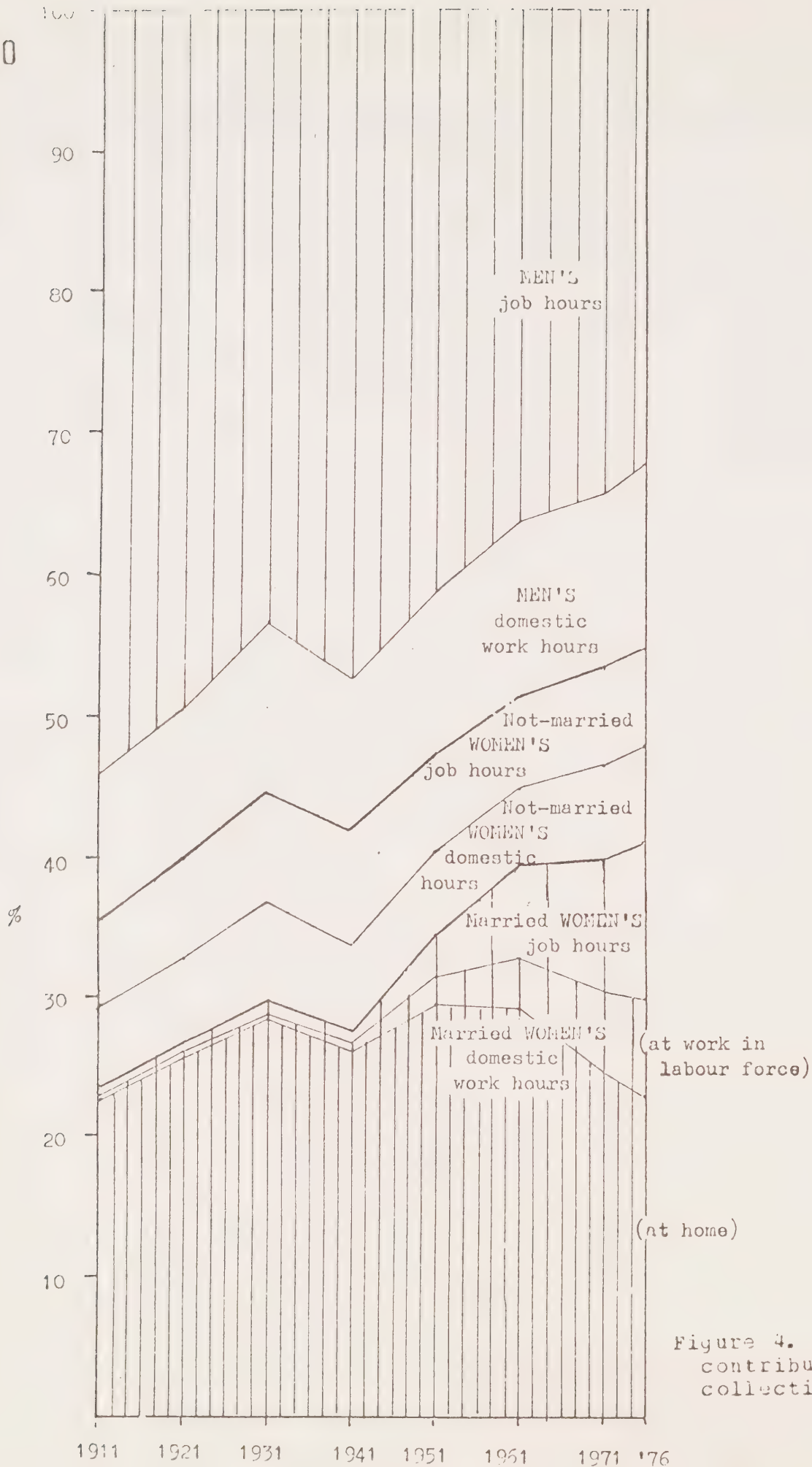


Figure 4. Proportionate contributions to the collective workload



As shown at the bottom of Table 5, and in Figure 5, domestic work hours as a per cent of the collective workload has increased throughout the period (always with the 1931-1941 dip), by 12 percentage points from 1911 to 1961. It had reached 50% in 1961 and levelled off to within 1-2 percentage points since then. If one were to assess the value of economic activity in working hours (as, for example, Marx suggested one should) the domestic economy equals the value of the non-domestic economy.

The last row of Table 5, and Figure 6, illuminate the long-term increase in women's share of economic activity, a rise by 19 percentage points from 1911 to 1976 in women's proportion of the collective workload. The increase passed the fifty-per-cent mark between 1951 and 1961, and reached 55% in 1976. When expressing the relation in proportions, the spare-time gain of men had to be women's loss. To what extent the shift in burden was 'real' can be seen in Figure 7, for which the collective workload hours were divided by the population 15 years and older. The central, broken line describes the experience of women and men combined, and it suggests that the working population has profited from an 11.9-hour drop in workload hours per person from 1911 to 1976. When such a per capita workload is separated for women and men, it becomes apparent that it was only men who gained (34.7 hours less work), while women's workload increased slightly by 2.6 hours per person. I should then modify my earlier comment on the "leisure society" to say that only men have had the benefit of it. Between 1951 and 1961 the workload of women began to exceed men's, and the gap has been widening ever since.

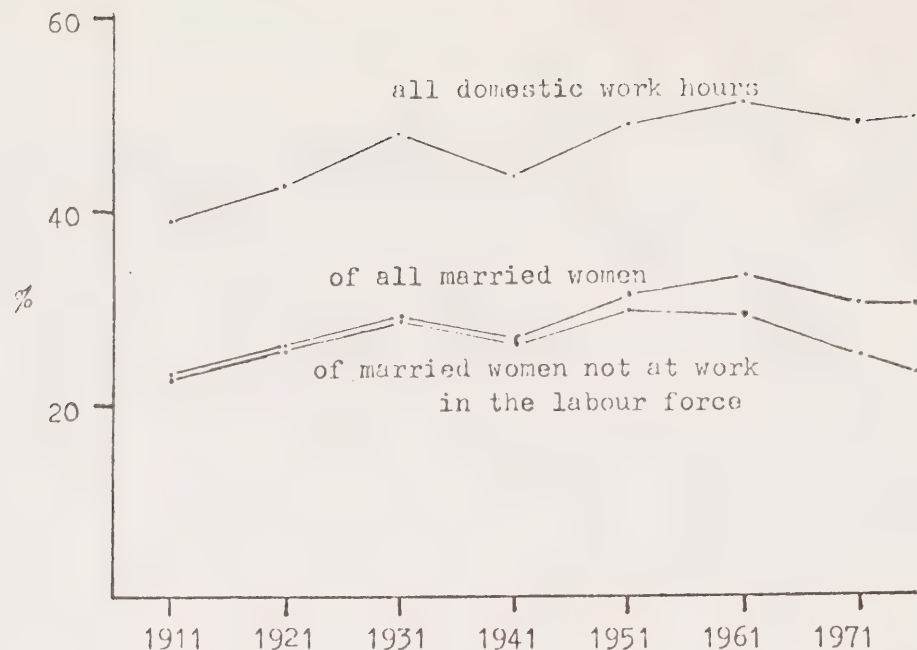


Figure 5. Domestic work hours as a per cent of overall workload of women and men combined (workload is hours at work in the labour force plus hours of domestic work)

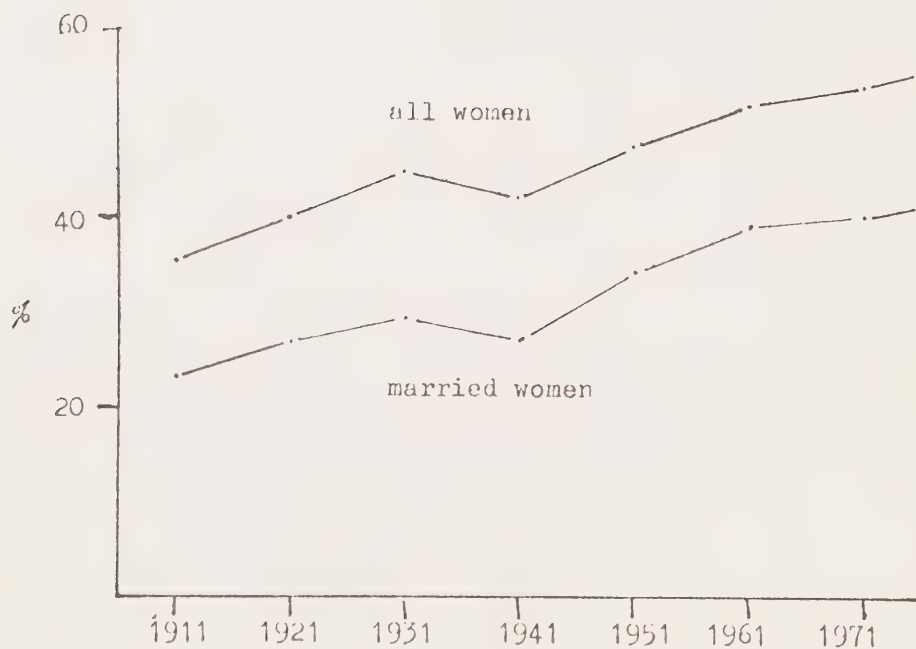


Figure 6. Women's collective overall workload as a per cent of women's and men's combined workload (domestic work hours plus labour-force hours)

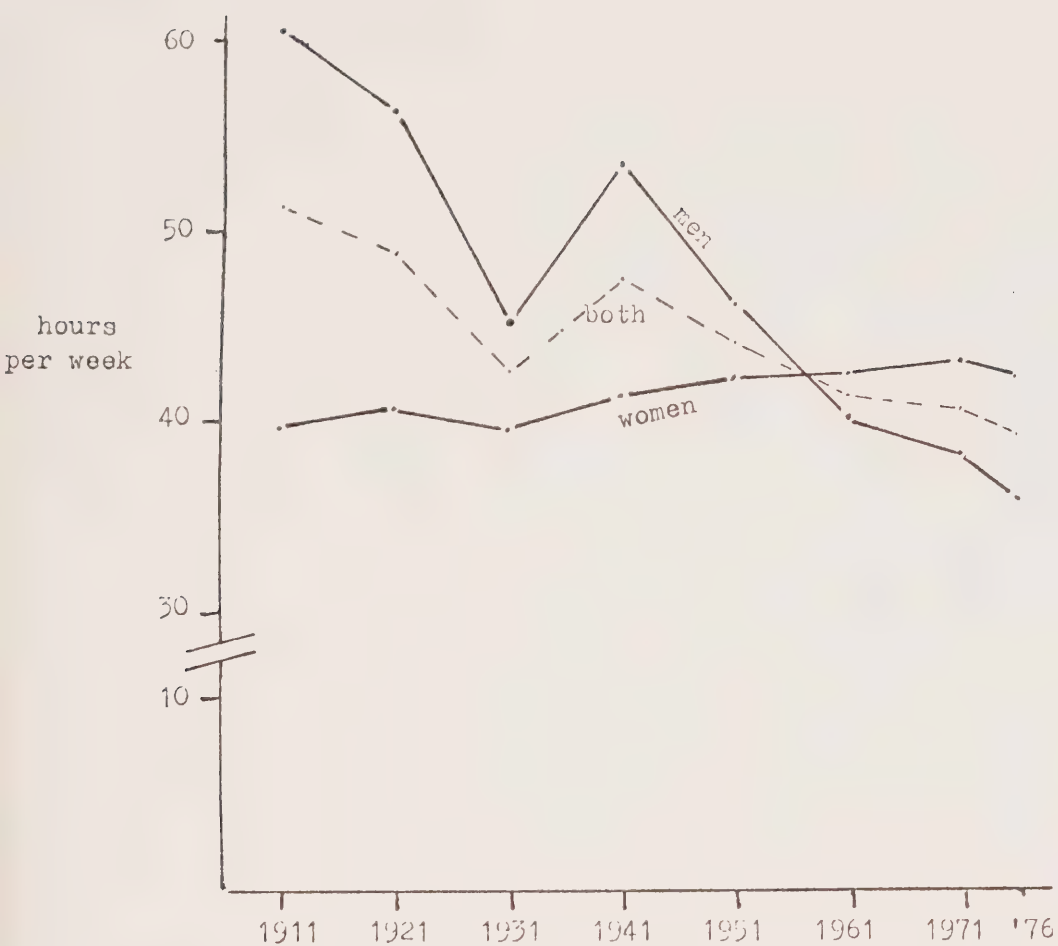


Figure 7. Weekly workload hours per person 15 years and over, by sex, 1911-1976

## Appendix: Estimates of Collective Hours of Work

In order to compare the collective hours in domestic work with the collective job hours, and to describe changes in each as a proportion of the sum of both, namely the overall workload of Canadians in the census years from 1911 to 1971, and the mid-census of 1976, I needed the number of persons in each of the relevant categories, the average job hours in the labour force, and domestic work hours. In the following I describe briefly the procedure for assembling these data for the example of 1971, and mention variations for other years.

Table 4 shows an assembly of facts for the 1971 labour force which results in six relevant figures, namely the number of women and men actually at work at census time in the agricultural and non-agricultural labour force, with women divided by being married or 'not married' (to include single, divorced, and widowed, while separated is included in married). The 'not at work' are being subtracted from the labour force, because they do not contribute job hours to be counted. The separation by sex and agriculture is necessary in order to apply differentially the longer hours in agriculture, and the somewhat shorter job hours of women. The marital separation is made in order to account later for the workloads of married women.

For some census years I had only the labour-force participation rate of married women, and calculated the actual number by applying the rate to the number of all married women. For 1911 and 1921 I made a backward projection. Because the rates were very low at the time, the effects of errors in that projection should be minor.

For the category 'not at work in the labour force' detailed figures for its several categories are only in the 1971 and 1976 census reports. In 1941 there were figures for both 'looking for work' and for 'not at work for other reasons'. 1951 and 1961 had only 'looking for work' figures, and I applied the ratios from 1941 to enlarge these figures to the more inclusive category for those not at work in the labour force. For 1921 and 1931 I used the simple 'not at work' numbers. For 1911 I applied the average per cent 'not at work in the labour force' of all the later census years, a method with a wide margin of error.

The censuses of 1951, 1961, and 1971 had the number of married and not married women in the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. For 1976 I applied the 1971 per cent in agriculture of married and not married women. For 1911 to 1941 I made estimates by applying the average ratio from 1951-1971 of the per cent of married women in agriculture to the per cent of all women in agriculture, and the same for non-married women. This procedure has no effect on the job hours estimates, because it only divides women's agricultural labour force by marital status, and marital status does not enter differently into the hours estimates. The reason for the separation is to produce final results separately by marital status, because housework hours differ markedly for married women.



Appendix Table 1 Estimate of number at work in labour force, 1971 example.

	WOMEN	MEN
Labour force, 15 years & over	3 053 100	5 760 245
Not at work in labour force		
-with a job but not at work	650 35)	1 152 60
-unemployed, temporary layoff	203 40) (11%)	263 40
-unemployed, looked for work	<u>250 975)</u>	<u>398 308</u>
Number at work in the labour force	2 716 750	5 220 340
	(married)	(not married)
Married women in labour force	1 775 805	
Married women not at work		
in the labour force, 11%	<u>195 339</u>	
Married women at work		
in the labour force	1 589 466	<u>(1 580 466)</u>
Not married women at work		
in the labour force		1 136 284
Married women in agriculture		
(as per cent of all industries		
88560/1775805=5%)		
5% of 1 589 466	790 23	
Not married women in agriculture		
(as per cent of all industries, 1.9%)		
1.9% of 1 136 284		<u>2 1589</u>
Married women at work		
in non-agricultural labour force	1 501 443	
Not married women at work		
in non-agricultural labour force	1 114 695	
Men at work in agriculture		
(6.52% of men in labour force		
were in agriculture)		
6.52% of 5 220 340		<u>340 366</u>
Men at work in		
non-agricultural labour force		4 879 974

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X

WOMEN, CLASS AND FAMILY

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## 1. Introductory

In the debate about the social bases of women's oppression, the family, its social organization and its relation to class is a central topic. On the one hand, there is the view that women's oppression in the family is a product of the social relations of capitalism. Their confinement to the family constitutes a relation of personal dependency between them and men who act as wage-earners. Working in the home in this privatized sphere, women cannot come together, they cannot develop political consciousness, and in particular they cannot develop class consciousness. The answer to women's oppression then is that women should participate fully in "social" labour, that is, in labour outside the home. They should join the struggle for socialism, a struggle which is organized on the basis of class and not of sex. To take up the issue of family and relations to men, as the bases of personal oppression as such, is to create division. Inequalities resulting from class override inequalities based on sex. The former are fundamental. The latter are derived.

The other view opposes patriarchy to capitalism as central in the oppression of women. It is held that there is a form of oppression specific to relations between women and men. It arises out of the social organization of sexuality and child-bearing. It pre-dates capitalism and there is no reason to suppose that it will disappear with the advent of a new mode of production. It is the family which deprives women of control of their sexuality, control of their bodies as bearers of children and control of their domestic labour. Hence the family is the key institution in women's oppression. Through the family biological differences between men and women become the basis of women's subordination to men. But biological differences do not create the division of labour and the relations of dominance and subordination which characterize "patriarchal" forms. Rather family institutions create a determinate structure of sex roles and relations of dominance transforming biological differences into the social relations of oppression for women. The family is the basis of patriarchy which is a relation of personal dominance by men over women. Political organization for women should, on this principle, be an organization of women. Men and women are in opposition and women must organize as women to struggle against patriarchal forms of oppression.

This is a summary of contrasting views in the women's movement. Probably neither can be identified with any particular position or group. They are composites built on my own experience of the women's movement, of the debates which have gone forward in articles, in pamphlets, and books, and above all in talk. Trying to think through these opposed positions and being torn between them, and trying to arrive at a resolution of a different kind, has been my motive for this paper. It was my own experience, yes, that marriage and family were oppressive; and yes, that personal relations of dominance and subordination were central to any account of the form of oppression women experience - at least in our own times and in my experience

of our times. It has been less my experience than my developing political and intellectual understanding that taught me increasingly more of the relation between women's oppression and capitalism. Struggling to find that both were true while they seemed contradictory is less a peace-making enterprise than one of discovering how to think about the world of my experience and the experience of other women in ways which conform to the discipline of direct experience. It seemed, and I can now say with another kind of assurance, it is important to arrive at analyses and political imperatives which do not do violence to experience - to what we know by virtue of the living we do in an ordinary everyday way and in an ordinary everyday world. Somehow we have to find a method of understanding. Indeed it is more importantly a method than a single and completed picture of how it is. We have to find a method which doesn't insist that we put aside aspects of our experience. We are confident of the discoveries we have made in reflecting on and consulting our experience as women. Because of the women's movement, we open our consciousness to the experience of other women. In consciousness-raising, we seek to objectify, make real for one another the world we share. The concept of patriarchy names relations, events, suffering, powerlessness, repression, which happen in many forms in our experience. Yes, violence is done to women. There are the ordinary daily ways in which women find they don't count. There are the ordinary ways in which women's labour and sexuality is used and appropriated. The experience named "patriarchy" is a real experience. We experience it inwardly as a product of how women and how men have been socialized in the relations of dominance and subordination. We are trapped again and again into relations and situations we do not and have not chosen, but cannot escape because, among other reasons, patriarchy as an ideological practice has deprived us of moral sanction and the inward surety to speak up for ourselves. What we see is a society which directly oppresses women, which has written books, tracts, constructed laws, made regulations, created organizations, work relations, etc., etc., systematically subordinating women to men and systematically placing us in relations which render us politically and economically powerless. Of course it is not a conspiracy. But as we learn more, it becomes clear that it has been done, actively. The social, political and economic forms of women's oppression have been and are the actual work, actual activities, actual doings of actual individuals. Of course women are part of these institutions, participating in the ways in which they have been rendered powerless. At least until recently.

Looked at in this way, the problem of patriarchy versus class takes on a different cast. The interpersonal relations of direct dominance, between women and men, are implicated in a larger organization of the society. Even if we see the patriarchal principle at work in each new setting, in government, business, professions, labour unions, yet that personal relation of dominance and inequality is articulated to the larger social, political and economic organization of the society. It can't be separated from it. Whatever residue of

motive among men to dominate and subdue women is biological or the result of some fearful prehistoric transformation (the mothers are dispossessed. The sons rise up and kill the father and seize his daughters, their sisters) the personal forms of oppression, the direct and personal character of men's domination over women takes on its actual character within determinate social relations specific to capitalism and to its development over the past one hundred and fifty or so years. The relation between the actual forms of men's dominance over women, and women's general inequality in the society, are specific to this kind of society, to this historical epoch. These are the forms in which we experience oppression. They are the only forms of oppression we know. Whether there is something beyond or beneath which is general is not our first question. Our first question is to understand the relation between what we find at the level of experience and the larger social, economic and political process, viewing the latter as historical processes. For of course, this place, this time, these material conditions, these social relations, are where we do our work. This is what we must understand.

As the debate has gone forward family and class or sex and class come to stand opposed to one another as representatives of alternative and mutually exclusive principles. These principles become enshrined in the positions and practices of political groupings within the women's movement and beyond. In this paper I want to recommend and use an approach which steps outside the positions organized around conceptions of the family or of class as exclusive determinations of inequality to explore "the Canadian family" in a rather different way. We need to take up a rather different way of thinking and investigating in order to step outside the debate (and indeed to step outside it into the world in which people actually live) so that we can examine the actual ways in which women's inequality is put together in this society.

The first and fundamental step is to begin where women are in the society, with the everyday worlds of our experience, and to be prepared to reconceptualize the accepted concepts, frameworks and theories. These are built upon and presuppose how the world appears from positions and from within discourses from which women have for centuries been excluded. Much thinking and research on the family in the past has failed even to recognize that what women were doing in the home was work. The concept of role as it was developed and used provided a means of analyzing family relations as interpersonal processes in which the work process was invisible. The absence of women's work in the home has become for many of us a major presence in the work of many writers. Take Michael Katz's study of family and class in late 19th century Hamilton. His account of the family of the period is wholly in terms of "growing up".<sup>(1)</sup> Women and their work in the home and in the family are presupposed but invisible. When we want to talk about women's work in the home, our notions of work are formed on



men's experience for whom women's work in the home is visible only in relation to them. Their experience of going out to work and being at leisure when they are not at work shapes our very concept of work. The contrast between work and leisure is a contrast and presupposes this separation. If we begin from what women do and have done in the home we would not arrive at this usage. We would find it difficult, for example in relation to children, to draw the line in mothering between what is work and what we would want to talk about quite differently as care, perhaps - where care expresses both that it is work, love and anxiety, and sometimes anguish.

Here then we will attempt to place women and their work in the centre of the picture - not to rewrite a new and female chauvinist version of the family but to redress a gross imbalance and in part also because we cannot move towards the full picture until this imbalance has been rectified.

A second aspect of this placing of women and their (our) experience in the forefront is that of raising questions about our conceptual practices and conceptual organization. A commitment to work from women's viewpoint raises questions about the conceptual procedures we use, not just of the specifics - as in the example of the work/leisure contrast, but also the ordinary ways in which our thinking and research begin in the intellectual world, in the "head" world, with questions arising out of debates among social scientists, intellectuals, administrators, etc. We begin ordinarily outside experience and in the discourse (the interaction between thinkers and researchers exchanging knowledge and thinking in the form of texts.) When we do this we get stuck with an approach which gives us trouble when we want the ordinary experience of women in the everyday world at the heart and centre of our inquiry.

Let us look at what happens with the concept of The Family. When we start in the "head" world that concept "The Family" defines our concerns. We are oriented first by the work done in studying The Family and thinking about The Family. Beginning with the concept leads us into a special set of procedures. These leach out the actualities of people's work lives and experience and the varying actual settings and the actual social relations in which people live and work. The Family becomes the topic and object of investigation. Actual families are examined with respect to how they may be seen to have common features and properties which can be assembled as aspects of The Family. Questions then arise concerning what families across time, culture and class have in common with one another - their size for example, their constitution in terms of membership - is the nuclear form of the family a universal form? - questions of sexuality and sexual relations; questions of authority and power as between husband and wife; the interpersonal processes so central in conceptualizing the family for the purposes of the therapist and caseworker.



This approach focusses upon conceptual problems and upon the problems of finding in the real world features corresponding to the conceptual structure. Thus Katz places the problem of establishing the "boundaries" of the family as essential to studying the relation between the family and social change. When we take up inquiry in this way, it doesn't occur to us that the very problems in finding boundaries is part of an actuality and that lack or invisibility of "boundaries" is a property of how it's actually put together. The actuality is examined in terms of "family structure" or the like. Structures are read into the world as its features. If they can't be found, the world appears incoherent and senseless. For example, Katz writes as follows:

Are these five case histories of real families representative of common patterns, or was past family structure a bundle of fleeting relationships, complex and incoherent? If, indeed, there was order to family structure, which case was typical, the extended family of John Mothershead in 1861, or the nuclear family of John Cawley at the same time? (2)

Questions of this kind can arise only when we are in search of a reality conforming to and reflecting our concept of The Family. Going about things in this way means we have to find a typical family as an empirical expression of the concept. This is not how we will proceed here. For there is another way.

In thinking about families and the very many and various ways in which families live and work, we can identify a fundamental work process, sometimes called by Marxists the work of reproduction, which provides for the survival of actual individual men and women and children. The work is done by particular individuals for one another. Sexual relations may be structured in a wide variety of ways. Reproduction, protection and care of children, are also provided for in various ways. Food and shelter for the group are provided by its members. If we were indeed able to observe our species as we have observed others, we might not be so hung up on the fixed notion of a unit with definite boundaries. We might first be able to see much more fluid relations organized by and organizing these rather basic survival processes. We would surely identify always the basic unit of mother and child though again perhaps we would see that as more fluid and opening up into other linkages than we tend to do when we begin with the constrictions of the head world concept of The Family. We would be able to see more clearly shifts in these processes as different ways of getting this work done - by no means always in the Family. Groupings may not be exclusive. They might fluctuate seasonally. Here the central point is make the work processes, the actual practices visible so that we can locate our inquiry in an everyday world.

In Engel's The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (3) he uses a method of analysis which has often been missed by those who have otherwise made excellent use of his work. It points to how we can get out of the difficulty we are left in once we have deserted The Family concept and want to find out how to begin where people are and where the work is actually done.

This method takes an actual work process and locates it in a determinate social relation. Then we can see how the articulation of an individual's work to the social relations of a given mode of production determine how she is related and the ways in which she becomes subordinate. There is on the one hand a work process, an actual activity, and on the other social relations (also activities) which articulate the society. With the shift from communal to private property -

The administration of the household lost its public character. It was no longer the concern of society. It became a private service; the wife became the first domestic servant, pushed out of participation in social production.(4)

Engels oversimplified, but the method he used is important. He did not see the division of labour simply as a distribution of work in work roles. Rather he saw the work process as articulated to social relations which defined its relation to others and hence defined how the doer of that work was related in society.

Many Marxists have also started with the unitary concept of The Family. Some have treated it as outside the mode of production, even as a different mode of production. Benston for example argued that since housework did not produce exchange value, but only use-value, the family was still a pre-capitalist mode of production. But if we follow Engels' method we will see that we cannot treat the material basis and work organization of home and family as constituting an independent entity, independently determined. Rather they are articulated to and organized by social relations which are the social relations of a mode of production. The very separation, the very privatization of women's work in the home and how it is mediated by private property (according to Engels) is a feature of the social relations of a definite mode of production. This approach does not draw a boundary on the mode of production at the door of the home. Rather home and family are seen as integral parts of and moments in a mode of production. Our method of work is one which raises as empirical questions in every instance both the work which is done, and the relations which organize and articulate that work to the social economic and political processes beyond and outside the home. Thus we don't cut across class and other differentiations or rural/urban

differences in a society to discover the lineaments of The Family and then return to the abstracted Family to discover how it "varies" in differing class and historical contexts. We begin with a method which locates the family and women's work in the home in the actual social relations in which they are embedded. Thus we shall be trying to understand the inner life and work of the family, and the personal relations of power between husband and wife as a product of how family relations are organized by and in the economic and political relations of capitalism. The relation between internal and external, between the personal dimensions of relations, i.e., those wherein particular individuals confront, co-operate, work together as individuals, and those relations which are organized as economic and political relations, is key to women's experience of the personal as political, as a relation of oppression. The contrast identified in sociology in various ways, for example, between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (6) is not a dichotomy into separate spheres but a dialectical relation. In back of the personal relations of women and men in the familial context is an economic and political process which provides the conditions, exigencies, opportunities, powers and weaknesses in terms of which the interactional process goes on. Choice, decision, moral commitment, love, hate, alienation, all are there, but they are there in a context and in conditions in relation to which family members have no choice, where their particular commitments to each other may make a difference in terms of the fate of individuals and of the family as a working unit, but do not change the conditions, means, grounds of what they may or can do. No matter how it is done, where men are wage-earners and women cannot earn enough outside the home to provide for their children independently of a man and his wage, dependency permeates every aspect of the interpersonal process in the home - regardless of how loving, how caring, how much or little respect each has for the other, how they have been able to work together, how much the man has learned to grant autonomy to his wife, or she has learned to assert herself vis a vis him. The economic and political process is there as a continual presence giving shape, limits and conditions to what goes forward, and, as in every other aspect of a capitalist mode of production, supplying change, and necessitating adaptation in ways which render the examples of lifetime experience of previous generations irrelevant as models for each new generation.

Our strategy then seeks for the determination and shaping of the interpersonal forms of domination and oppression of women in how the economic and political relations in which the family is embedded constitute inequality, creating relations of dominance and dependency within the family. Of course other things are going on. But I want to push as far as possible as an analysis which investigates how capitalism works in relation to women's situation in the family so that we can grasp the specific forms and processes of women's oppression - so that we can see what it is, how it is there, and perhaps be clearer about how to work for change.



In the analysis which follows class and family, or class and patriarchy will not be viewed as opposing and incompatible terms - placing us in an either-or situation at every point. Rather our strategy will be one relating the specific form of the family to the class organization of a changing capitalist society. The basic conception of class we will work with is Marxist. This differentiates classes on the basis of a differing relation to the means of production. A ruling class appropriates and controls the means of production. It is supported by a class which labours to produce the subsistence of the ruling class as well as for itself. In capitalism this relation takes the form of the mutual constitution of capital and wage-labour and surplus value is the form in which surplus labour appears and is appropriated by the ruling class. This dichotomous class structure does not become visible in a simple way for reasons which will in part be a topic of parts of this paper. For we shall see that rather than an analysis of family relations leading us away from an examination of class, it brings into focus class and the divergence between the underlying relation of capital and labour and the surface features blurring the sharpness of the underlying opposition. By beginning with class as a dynamic relation central to capitalism, by recognizing families as organized by and organizing social relations - among them class relations, by avoiding the concept of The Family and thereby avoiding making class relations invisible by using the concept to make differences between classes unobservable, we can begin to see the social organization of class in a new way. We discover the family or forms of family work and living, as integral to the active process of constructing and reconstructing class relations, particularly as the ruling class responds to changes in the forms of property relations and changes in the organization of the capitalist enterprise and capitalist social relations.

It is important to preserve a sense of capitalism as an essentially dynamic process continually transforming the "ground" on which we stand so that we are always looking at a continually changing historical process. It is one of the problems of the "head world" strategy that our categories and concepts fix an actuality into seemingly unchanging forms and then we do our work in trying to find out how to represent society in that way. This we must avoid. We must try to find out how to see our society as continually moving and to avoid introducing an artificial fixity into what we make of it. The society as we find it at any one moment is the product of an historical process. It is a process which is not "completed" in that the various "impulses" generated by the essentially dynamic process of capitalism do not come to rest in their own completion or in the working out to the point of equilibrium of systematic interactions. The process of change is itself unceasing and at any moment we catch only an atemporal slice of a moving process. Hence to understand the properties, movement, "structure" of the present, we must be able to disentwine the strands of development which determine their present character and relations.



Our discussion here of the present bases of women's inequality and its relation to class and family will therefore be one sketching the differing histories of women and the form of the family in the historical development of the different classes. Behind the different course of change and the differing experience of women in different classes, is the same overall historical course which capitalism has taken in North America and in Canada in particular. That common course of development has shaped the different histories of classes and the widely different experiences of family living of women of the bourgeoisie and middle-class and of working class women.

In our discussion we will rest at one major theoretical indecision by talking about "bourgeoisie" and "middle-class" almost interchangeably. The uses of terminology here will be descriptive rather than analytic. The current state of the debate on class and stratification is quite inconclusive and does not yield a satisfactory terminology, let alone theoretical account. I have become inclined to treat the capitalist elite, the middle classes and the so-called petty bourgeoisie as a single class in relation to contemporary forms of property and the contemporary modes of maintaining domination of the means of production and the processes of expropriating surplus labour. It is an internally differentiated class articulated to the regional basis of the capitalist economy, actively organized and reorganized as a class by ideological processes, by the organization of networks of personal relations, by the maintenance of privileged access to state and state services including education, governmental regulation and so forth. This section of society appears as a ruling class in the sense in which Marx and Engels used that term in The German Ideology<sup>(7)</sup> where it refers not to a political group, but to that class which controls and dominates the means of production. Its ruling in contemporary capitalist society is mediated by a ruling apparatus of bureaucracy, legislature, management, intellectual discourse, professional organization, etc. Its payoff is various forms of expropriation of surplus value where surplus value can no longer be seen as arising in a relation of individual capitalist to individual worker but must increasingly be understood as the organization of relations between a ruling class and a working class as wholes and hence as having systemic properties. The class which rules, the ruling class is, as I have said, internally differentiated and we can distinguish different sectors including the locally based petty bourgeoisie contributing his or her own labour to the enterprise, a middle class large salaried and occupying positions in managerial, bureaucratic or professional organizations, and an elite who come nearest to being describable as "owners" particularly closely linked to finance capital and top levels of government. The working class can also be seen to be internally differentiated into different sectors though its internal structure is as much organized by forces external to it than by initiatives arising from within. The major class organizations of the working

class are trade unions and these in fact have served as part of the organization of a dual labour market separating a core or central work world from a marginal or peripheral sector. The internal structure of the working class must be seen largely as responses to conditions and pressures originating in the economic process and as a defense against exploitation.

It must be clear by this point that questions concerning the designation of class and relations in contemporary capitalism cannot, in my view, be answered definitionally. Nor wholly at the level of theory. They can indeed be resolved at the theoretical level only by empirical inquiry examining the social relations mediating control and domination of the means of production and expropriating surplus labour, as they actually are today. Indeed this present essay can be seen as part of such an inquiry concerning itself with how the organization of relations between women and men can be understood as integral to the forms of domination securing the means of production and expropriation to a ruling class and subordinating a working class in a relation of exploitation to a ruling class.

These are the bases on which we will take up the difference between middle class family organization and its history, and those of the working class. To clarify the ways in which economic relations intersect with and organize the division of labour between household and enterprise and to bring into focus distinctive features of the Canadian context, we will begin by considering the petty bourgeois form of family and its transformations in the context of a developing rural economy. In relation to both petty bourgeoisie and middle class we will be concerned with the emerging forms of property relations and the rise of what I have described as a ruling apparatus radically separated from yet dependent upon, a privatized domestic order. These historical changes are part of processes which transform relations in and for the working class family in rather different ways and in response to very different conditions and relational contexts. Finally we will have something to say about currently developing trends and directions.

## 2. Individual, Family and Property Relations

At the beginning of the Grundrisse, the work which lays the foundations for the developed formulations of Capital, Marx analyzes the social construction of individuality. He presents the individual as a social creation, a form which arises in social characteristic of capitalism.<sup>(8)</sup> Of course individuals exist under all modes of production, but it is only with capitalism that the individual emerges as a determinate social actor, entering into social economic relations as an individual.

The individual arises as a component of the externalized general forms of relations of inter-dependency, the relations of exchange between money and commodities and the distinctive form of those relations taken by capital. In previous modes of production the interdependency of people in a division of labour is embedded in relations between persons. Earlier forms of the division of labour tied individuals to households, tied them to one another through rights in particular pieces of land, and provided for the subsistence of a ruling class through forced labour. The relations externalized in money, commodities and capital are the general form of such relations of personal inter-dependency. They detach the individual from the personal form of relations at least in his capacity as economic actor or agent.

The notion of the social constitution of the individual follows essentially the same procedure as Marx uses in examining commodities as a social form. There we are shown that the social relation constructing the commodity is conceptually separable from actual objects and their actual properties and uses. In Wage-labour and Capital he applies the same method to slavery and to capital:

What is a Negro slave? A man of the black race. The one explanation is as good as the other. A Negro is a Negro. He only becomes a slave in certain relations. A cotton spinning jenny is a machine for spinning cotton. It becomes capital only in certain relations. Torn from these relationships it is no more capital than gold itself is money or sugar is the price of sugar. (9)

Similarly though individuals are always individuals, they only become individuals socially, economically, politically in certain relations. These relations, according to Marx, are the relations of the market and of capitalism. Here individuality is not represented as an ideological form, as mere "bourgeois individualism". Rather it is identified as a distinct social form of action and relation characteristic of a definite mode of production, a definite social formation.

The analysis of individuals as a social form arising with capitalism and integral to capitalist social relations was important in Marx's thinking about the stage represented by capitalism in the long term historical transformation of society towards communism. The egalitarian claims and advances made by the American and French revolutions could not but be partial in their effects because underlying the apparently egalitarian relations of individuals is a differentiation of class radically modifying the social and political effects. There are individuals, yes, but of two kinds - individuals owning the means of production and individuals lacking the means to produce for themselves or for the market and owning only their own labour power which they must sell in order to live. A truly egalitarian society can emerge only when this basis of inequality among individuals is eliminated.



If we take the standpoint of women, it becomes immediately clear that the universe of individuals thus constituted as such is a universe of men and not of women. Marxist thinkers have done much work recently to analyze the specific relation of women's domestic labour to the labour-power sold as a commodity by the worker. This work hones in on what is missing from Marx's model. The constitution of the individual worker as an individual appearing on the market with his labour-power to sell presupposes a work organization "behind the scenes" which is not articulated directly to the market process, but appears as a personal service to the individual worker. That individual depends upon domestic labour as the essential basis of his capacity to sell his labour-power to the capitalist, hence to appear as an individual in the marketplace. At times in Marx's and Engels' thinking, it seemed as though the development of capitalism would progressively break down these vestigial forms of personal dependence, that all members of a family would enter directly into the industrial process as individuals, and that the final transformation of family relations would be through the socialization of private domestic labour. This has not happened, at least not in the way in which Marx and Engels anticipated. Rather, our times until recently have seen a consolidation of the privatized relation in which the individual worker is "produced" through his wife's domestic labour. This relation is integral to the appearance of the worker as individual on the market. Hence the social form of the individual as worker is, like the wage, an appearance which conceals an actual relation between the domestic labour done largely by women in the home and the individual wage-earner in the productive process.

The analysis of the significance of domestic labour has however addressed only one side of the appearance of the individual. It addresses the constitution of individuals only of the working class. On the other is the individual owner of the means of production. In Marx's work private property as constitutive of the individual capitalist as economic agent remains unexamined and unexplicated as a social relation. The individual as owner of the means of production must also be reproduced daily as an individual through the domestic labour in the home. Further than that, where the means of production were identified with an individual or individuals, the property relations of entrepreneurial forms of capitalism also depended on relations within the family. Continuities of property, the consolidation and continuity of capital transgenerationally - these depended upon an organization of family relations which subsumed the wife as a civil person under the person of her husband and gave to the father significant control over the relations formed in marriage by his sons and daughters. Marriages among the bourgeoisie brought into being relations among properties appropriated by individuals. The actor on the scene, the civil person, legally constituted as such was the husband and father whose rights to appropriate his wife's property and earnings, as well as those of his minor children,



collected property, resources, and labour of the family on the economic scene on whose successes and failures other members of the family depended. The family became a corporate economic unit identified with an individual man. At various levels of the economy different aspects of this control and appropriation came into prominence. For the smaller entrepreneur, the petty bourgeois, owning and working in his own shop as well as employing others, women's domestic labour (wife, daughters and servants) was integral to the subsistence organization of the enterprise. At levels where the specialization of merchant, financial and similar roles created actual forms corresponding to the theoretical category of agents of capital, the bourgeois appropriated the domestic labour of the women of his household; and controlled the women of his family's capacity to create social linkages. He was legally accorded exclusive access to his wife's sexuality since that provided the essential corporeal connection between men of one generation and men of the next through which the continuity of property could be established. He also disposed of similar rights in his daughters' sexuality as a means of forming connections between his capital and property and that of others. As Hall and others have pointed out, marriages between kin of appropriate degrees was a significant mechanism for the consolidation of capital transgenerationally in the absence of specialized capital-holding institutions, trusts, joint stock companies, corporations, etc.<sup>(10)</sup> It is surely no accident that the modest changes in marital property laws permitting wives to hold property of their own and to retain their own earnings were enacted in Canada between 1915 and 1924 (excluding Quebec) after alternative institutions were fully developed.

These relations are more than relations in which men exploit women. If we examine the legal relations closely and their changes, we would see how they are geared to constituting formally the forms required by the relations of capital, of the market, and of the developing property-owning forms. They are the social constitution of the capacities of an individual, whether an individual person or later a corporate form, to act as an economic agent to incur debts, to make loans, to hold mortgages, to hold property in land in ways which articulate it to a real estate market, etc. These are the kinds of linkages and requirements which are constitutive of the form of the bourgeois family, given its character as an economic unit and determine how domestic labour and resources are appropriated. Hence as these institutions change, and of course they have changed greatly, the relations determining the form of the bourgeois and middle class family, the internal structure of appropriation and the relation of domestic labour to these, have also been modified. In particular as property (in the sense of ownership of the means of production) shifts to the corporate form of ownership and the chief actor on the economic scene ceases to be the individual person and becomes the corporate person (so that even a one-man enterprise would be constituted as a company), a radical separation between the company or corporation and the bourgeois or middle class family emerges. These are changes in the middle class family.

They are great changes in the roles and activities of women, and the contexts in which women's domestic labour in the home is done.

The social relations which have been key as contexts for women's domestic labour in the middle class are those of the property institutions and other institutions organizing and constituting economic agency, and indeed agency in political and professional spheres in general. With the development of the corporate form of ownership of the means of production, the extension of bureaucratic forms of government, and the rise of a scientific and technological establishment located in a variety of organizational forms, we can begin to see an integration of the functions of "ruling" in the society. The organization of relations and activities in all spheres becomes increasingly differentiated as specialized practices, in government, management and the professions, in ideological processes and in education. These begin to form a loosely integrated apparatus in which forms of action are characteristically in words or mathematical symbols. This apparatus I shall call the "ruling" apparatus, where in the economic context of Marxist thought "ruling" identifies the processes and functions which reserve and control the means of production in the interests of a class. The ruling apparatus of contemporary capitalism comes into view as such in a special way from the standpoint of women, since they have been excluded from all but subordinate and generally menial positions within it.

### 3. Family and Property Relations in Canada

The economic organization of the family arising with capitalism subordinates women and children to the civil person of the male head of household. He appears as an individual in the economic arena mobilizing and deploying the resources of the family. This articulation of the family and economy may indeed be of greater significance in determining the subordination of married women and of daughters than the internal division of labour. A number of writers<sup>(11)</sup> have taken the view that prior to the industrial revolution and to the rise of capitalism, women shared fully in the productive labour of the household economy and that the essential contribution made by their work to the overall enterprise assured their status in the family. Hence it is the shift of productive enterprise from family to firm which is seen as the key transition for women. Examining the Canadian record in terms of the articulation of family to economy via the individual male suggests that the property relations subordinating women in the family may be of greater significance in determining her status than the internal division of labour or its relation to the productive process. Clark too identifies shifts towards patriarchal organization in the 17th century which seem unrelated to changes in the sexual division of labour within the family and more to the reorganization of the family as an economic unit accompanying the rise of capitalism<sup>(12)</sup> As we shall see this form of family does not disappear with the rise of corporate or monopoly capitalism but survives in the petty bourgeoisie (small business), particularly in farming. The Canadian record is distinctive in

this respect because the character of the development of the Canadian economy does not allow us to make use of a linear model of development. As new lands were opened up by the advent of the railroad in the west, the homesteading patterns which developed the eastern farmlands were replicated (though with a somewhat different technological base). In the 1930s homesteading patterns in Dawson Creek (B.C.)<sup>(13)</sup> show a division of labour little different from that described by Susannah Moodie<sup>(14)</sup> and Catherine Parr Traill<sup>(15)</sup> for the early 19th century in Ontario. But behind the scene in Dawson Creek are commercial, financial and property holding institutions and market processes developed to a very different level. Once the homestead of the 1930s gets beyond the subsistence stage it is articulated to an economic organization of a very different level than characterized early 19th century Canada. Developments in Canada are characteristically truncated as indigenous processes. The development of economic institutions and systems elsewhere - in Britain or the United States - have entered the Canadian economic scene as fully-fledged forms subordinating and articulating the indigenously developed economic formations. Similarly the economic institutions matured in Eastern Canada organized and articulated the localized forms of enterprise developing the western provinces.

The reciprocal dependence of household and enterprise characteristic of earlier forms of capitalism is visible in 19th century Canada in more than one form. The household would provide for the subsistence of at least the family core of workers in the enterprise. Where accounts were kept of this form of economic unit, domestic and personal expenses were included in the overall accounting for the enterprise<sup>(16)</sup>. At least one of the households Katz describes in his study of late 19th century Hamilton suggests just such a relation between household and enterprise:

John Mottashed, a 52-year-old Protestant shoemaker, born in Ireland, lived on Hughson Street in a two-storey stone house which he rented from T. Stinson. With him in 1851 lived his 40-year-old second wife, Mary Ann; his married 24-year-old son Jonathan, a miller, and his 20-year-old daughter-in-law, Mary Anne; his other sons, John, twenty-two, George, seventeen, Robert, fourteen, Joseph, six and Charles, one, his daughters, Mary, twelve, and Anne, eight; and his stepchildren, John Calvert, an 18-year-old shoemaker, and Sarah Calvert, fifteen years old.<sup>(17)</sup>

This was the household in 1851. It is not clear whether the adult sons were working as shoemakers, but in 1861 the relation of household to enterprise is more clearly established. Mottashed's three older sons have taken up his trade and his son the miller and his daughter-in-law are no longer part of the household.



For a farm of a slightly later period, Nellie McClung's autobiography gives us a picture of a comparable organization of household and enterprise.

An Ontario farm, in the early eighties was a busy place, and everyone on our farm, moved briskly. My father often said of my mother that she could keep forty people busy. 'She certainly could think of things for people to do. Maybe that was one reason for my enjoying the farmyard so much. I loved to sit on the top rail of the fence, and luxuriantly do nothing, when I was well out of the range of her vision. Mother herself worked harder than anyone. She was the first up in the morning and the last one to go to bed at night. Our teams were on the land, and the Monday morning washing on the line well ahead of the neighbours'.(8)

What becomes clear from McClung's account is that the women in charge of the household with this relation to the enterprise has a role which goes beyond that merely of labouring to produce subsistence. It is an organizational and managerial role. The daily scheduling of work, the mobilizing of available labour resources to get the work done, these were part of the housewife's work role. Characteristically men would produce the means of production and produce for the largely local market and women would produce the means of direct subsistence. Dependence upon money was minimal in the farming context and even in the urban setting of later 19th century Hamilton, the garth or garden would have been an important part of the subsistence of the household. On a farm as far as possible the subsistence of family members and servants and of hired hands employed for harvesting, would be produced by the women - wives, daughters and servants. A substantial farm such as that described by Nellie McClung would have employed servants of both sexes. Women in such households established rights in their own products so that when there was a surplus they could market it themselves.

At an earlier time the successful homestead would develop towards the type of household-enterprise organization described by Nellie McClung. At later stages it enters a very different set of economic relations. Homesteading is a subsistence economy. The division of labour between husband and wife and children as they become of age to participate produces their own survival. The essential contribution of each makes it indeed essential and it is hard to see how issues of relative power and status arise in such a context. However that may be, when the homestead develops to the point of producing a marketable surplus and enters economic relations already formed to constitute economic units of determinate type, in which men are the economic agent, the force of these relations becomes apparent. In the mid-west, this experience was part of the impetus to women's suffrage and to the changes in matrimonial property laws (minimal though they were) which followed on the success of the campaign for suffrage.



There is an experience which is superficially similar to the work organization and division of labour of the Ontario farm described by McClung, but very different in its actualities both as experience and in its underlying structure. In a Canadian novel based on her own experience as a school teacher boarding with a family, Martha Ostenso, (19) tells a story of tyranny of a farmer over his wife and daughters and of the special drudgery of his wife's existence.

To understand this radical difference in the internal organization of the farm family we must examine how the later farm family is articulated to the later agricultural economy. The change is firstly one from a form of farming in which production for the subsistence of those labouring on the farm was integral to its economy. In this, as we've seen, women played a key role. What has happened in between the childhood scene described by Nellie McClung and that described by Ostenso in her novel are changes in the political economy of Canadian farming. Political and economic policies in Canada during the late 19th and early 20th centuries combined railroad expansion with land settlement through promoting extensive immigration. (20) The latter was both a political imperative in defense of the threat of incorporation of western Canada into the United States and also served to develop a commodity (wheat) on which the railroad could depend for freight. As a bonus, the railroad created and to a large extent dominated a highly speculative real estate market. The immigrants who built up the wheat economy of the Canadian prairies were in many instances financed by mortgages on their land and bank loans for tools, seed and other necessities for which their crop stood collateral. They did not begin as homesteaders characteristically did by producing their own subsistence and remaining at first to a large extent outside the market economy.

Ostenso's novel turns on the fact that survival for the immigrant farmer in this squeeze depended on the production of a single cash crop. Everything must be subordinated to that. In this context then, women's labour is substituted for hired labour both in working the land and in the production of subsistence for the family. Furthermore, her labour is substituted as far as possible for labour in the form of manufactured commodities for which money must be found. Increased inputs of her labour eke out the lack of money at every possible point in the enterprise. Her time and energy, indeed her life, is treated as indefinitely exhaustible. She must in addition bear children because their labour is also essential. Women were virtually imported into Canada at this period to serve these functions.

Further, in this relation she is totally subordinate to her husband. She has no independent economic status or independent source of money. There are no local sources of employment for women. The system of matrimonial property in Canada was (and still is to a large extent) organized around the man as the sole owner of the small business and his wife's labour makes a contribution to it which gives her to rights in it. Furthermore while laws of property,

debt, credit, etc., endow him with full economic status, they do not do the same for her. He is responsible for the debts on the land; he owns it insofar as he can be said to own it; the monetary income from the crops is his. Her labour contributes to his capacity to act in the economic sphere but does not further hers. These forms of matrimonial property law establish title in land in such a way as to provide for its standing as collateral to loans, or for being mortgaged. It is integral to the constitution of that type of economic organization in which the family functions as a small business in a fully developed capitalist economy. Moreover, the functioning of a highly speculative real estate market was facilitated by single and unencumbered title to real property. The patterns of drudgery and tyranny described as the farm women's experience by Ostenso and others are generated by a political economy of this kind.

The texts which describe women's experience and work do not refer to these aspects of the social organization of family relations. They are not identified for us in the accounts directly. Nevertheless once we begin to look for them we can explicate and make observable the underlying structures - deep structures, if you like - which determine the actual organization of the everyday world, its social relations and conditions of experience.

The extraction of surplus labour through mortgages and loans to farmers and homesteaders at this period took a distinctive form in relation to this rural petty bourgeoisie. The interest on loans and mortgages concealed, as did the wage, a relation of exploitation in which the farming household produced surplus value for the capitalist. The property form identified the farm with the individual male farmer. His success in accumulating over and above what he had to pay out in interest depended generally upon exploiting the labour of women, both domestically and as supplementary labour on the land. This is the situation Nellie McClung presents to typify the injustices and suffering of farm women;

I remember once attending the funeral of a woman who had been doing the work for a family of six children and three hired men, and she had not even a baby carriage to make her work lighter. When the last baby was three days old, just in threshing time, she died. Suddenly, and without warning, the power went off, and she quit without notice. The bereaved husband was the most astonished man in the world. He had never known Jane to do a thing like that before, and he could not get over it. In threshing time, too!(21)

Farm women of that period were vividly conscious of this relation and of the injustice of laws which deprived them of the fruits of their own labour and permitted its appropriation by men as a basis for economic activity. Thus in 1910 a Saskatchewan farmeress (self-styled) stated the issue:

It may not be so in every part of the province, but here it is not the bachelor who is making the most rapid progress, buying land and in every way improving the country, but it is the married men - and why? One wonders if the women have nothing to do with this. Who does the economizing if not the women? And pray tell me what incentive a women has to work longer hours every day than her husband, if she is to have no say in the selling or mortgaging of land her hard work has helped to pay for? Is it not the women who deny themselves most when the bills come due? It is not for myself that I so much want our rights as for our unfortunate sisters who, no matter how hard they toil, can never get what they merit. Several women in this neighbourhood have land, and I do not know of one who is not anxious for the dower law and homesteads for women, and most of them for equal suffrage.(22)

In the political economy of prairie development women at this period were doing much the same kind of work as they did in the McClung farm of the 19th century. Yet the social relations organizing their work and their relation to their husbands were very different. Rather than playing a leading managerial role in the household/enterprise as a whole, they became subordinated to a market and financial structure through their husband, who as property owner, acted as economic agent. This indeed exemplifies the situation described by Engels where relations between husband and wife replicate relations between the bourgeois and proletariat. The husband extracted surplus labour from his wife, the results of which were allocated through the mortgage and loan system between him and those to whom he paid interest. Writings of this period expressing the perspective of women, whether novels, or journalism (such as that of the Saskatchewan farmeress,<sup>(23)</sup> Nellie McClung<sup>(24)</sup> or the author of *The Revolt of the Mother*--a U.S. novel exhibiting a very similar relation,<sup>(25)</sup> show an implicit or explicit hostility of women to men and a sharp recognition of women's interests as opposed to those of men. Women sought various means of limiting and controlling how they were exploited. Securing some rights in the property they helped to accumulate was only one. Suffrage was a means to this. There were other ways. One major form was the withdrawal of women's participation in the labour on the farm which accompanied the increased affluence of Canadian farming. A friend in B.C. described how her mother prevented her from acquiring the manual skills and strength which would make her useful in "his" enterprise, hence making it less likely that she would be called upon to help out.<sup>(26)</sup> Affluence makes a major difference to such forms of family/enterprise organization.<sup>(27)</sup> Property rights constituting the man as economic agent have only very recently begun to be modified. The celebrated Murdoch case drew the attention of rural women to the fact, of which many were unaware, that their labour did not entitle them to a share in the property. Mrs.



Murdoch had worked for twenty-five years on her husband's ranch doing more than the domestic work. A large part of the work of cattle raising she did herself since, in addition to what she did when her husband was there, she took over the whole enterprise for the five months of the year he took paid employment. Yet her labour did not, in the view of the courts, entitle her to share in the property she had helped to create. Even the dissenting opinion of (the then) Judge Bora Laskin did not recognize the wife's contribution of labour to the overall enterprise as constituting a claim on the property. He dissented only on the grounds that her contribution had been exceptional. Women's labour as such, as the labour of a wife, had no claim.

Though petty bourgeois forms of production are no longer the predominant form in Canada, the farm as an economic unit as well as other independent businesses still organize and incorporate women's labour in much the same way. The husband is constituted as economic agent appropriating his wife's labour as part of the enterprise. He cannot pay her a wage and deduct it from his income tax.

La loi de l'impôt dit: 'lorsqu'une personne a reçu une rémunération à titre d'employé de son conjoint, le montant de cette rémunération ne doit pas être déduit lors du calcul du revenu du conjoint ni inclus dans le calcul du revenu de l'employé.(28)

A wife working in her husband's business cannot pay into the pension plan and is not insured for injuries on the job. Other than in Ontario and in Quebec (where the marriage contract may make provisions), a wife has no assurance of a share in the assets of the business to which she has contributed directly - let alone the indirect contribution she has made in the form of domestic labour.

The organization of the farm as an economic unit is still vested in the person of the husband. Wives, according to Carey, are not viewed as part of the enterprise:

Men view women as "helpers", and women themselves often underestimate their own indispensable contribution to the farm.(29)

The man as economic agent and property owner articulates the farm as a productive process to the structure of large-scale agribusiness. In this relation women's domestic labour, the economies she can achieve, combined with work on the farm and sometimes part-time employment outside, contribute to the profits of agribusiness. Carey writes:



Agribusiness corporations have indirectly admitted that they cannot pay anyone to work for them as cheaply as a farmer, his wife and children would work for a family farm.(30)

Individual ownership by the man and his legal capacity to appropriate the unpaid labour of his wife enter into very different relations at different points in the development of capitalism. This relation organizes the internal relations of the family in very different ways.

4. The rise of the corporation, the externalization of property and the changing role of the family in the reproduction of the ruling class

The development of the corporate forms of ownership and economic agency increasingly separate the spheres of economic relations and of the family and household unit. The social construction of the individual man as agent or actor arises at the juncture of the two spheres. The forms of property and the social relations of the economy organize domestic labour in relation to the individual man in determinate ways. Under capitalism these relations are in a continual process of change producing an ever-increasing concentration of capital. Quantitative changes have been accompanied by major modifications in the forms of property ownership, in the organization of the market and of finance and commercial processes, as well as of management and technology. These modifications have also radically modified the organization of the middle class family.

The externalization of the relations of inter-dependency which were earlier primarily market relations began to develop as an externalization of property relations and an objectification of managerial and organizational processes. The continuity and accumulation of capital so precariously provided for by individual forms of property were externalized as corporations, trusts, cartels, joint stock companies, etc. Markets organized earlier as a series of independent transactions are progressively integrated as a single sequence of ordered transactions from original seller to final destination.(31) This required co-ordination at a different level than could be met by economic units tied in to the household and family. Economic organization became increasingly separated from the local organization of the household. Men moved to and fro between the two "levels" of organization, participating in each. With the rise of corporate forms, they became the agents of capital by virtue of their positions in an organization whatever their capacity. Director, manager, so-called owner - the relations, powers and activities of each are features of large-scale organization. Their relations, roles, performances, are mediated by the corporation as a property-holding form. The new forms of property are a differentiated structure externalizing property relations as a system of specialized roles.

The concentration of capital in the corporate form developed rapidly in Canada in the period just before the First World War when the number of companies declined.<sup>(32)</sup> These developments coincided with similar ones in the United States. They were marked there in the Progressive Era by an explicit linkage of government with corporate interests, the development through government support of essential administrative structures, regulative processes, legal forms and economic knowledge and an attempt to incorporate trade union organization into an integrated corporatist conception of society. The development of corporations and the concordant administrative and professional structures in Canada was slower - agriculture did not lose its leading position until the 1930s and Canada's development of a secondary industrial structure has never been strong. But the process has been essentially the same and insofar as American companies have penetrated the Canadian economy, they have, of course, been the same processes.

Over time the corporate form becomes the legal constitution for all sizes of business, although for small business it is elective. Organizationally it completes the separation of family and household from economy - or rather from the economy as differentiated and specialized processes. Economic relations are increasingly differentiated and specialized at an extra-local, national and international level. Earlier forms of externalized economic relations still depend upon networks of kinsfolk in varying degrees. Among the middle class the family was a broader conception than the household representing an organization of common interests vested in more than one privately owned enterprise or professional occupation. The separation of family and business world was blurred. Economic organization was supported and organized by kin and familial relations. The primarily domestic work of women was not isolated from the relational politics of business - quite apart from other ways in which women's skills could be involved in business enterprise. The advancement and security of the family involved the active participation of women in more than one way. Allegiances, decisions about character, the backdoor informational processes known as gossip - these were all part of the ordinary world in which business was done and were integral to it. But the corporate form supplants these processes with its own. Those employed must owe allegiance to the organization and not to family. Specific competences and qualifications become of greater importance than family ties. Alliances established within the business structures and networks themselves become more central than alliances in the local area or within a kin network. As the economic process is sealed off, women in the household are isolated from it. The middle class domestic world becomes truly privatized. The locus of advancement for the individual ceases to be identified with his family connection and with the advancement of the kin constellation. It becomes identified with his individualized relation to the corporate enterprise. It is this which later becomes institutionalized as a career. The domestic labour of the middle class household is increasingly organized as a personal service to the

individual man and its relation to the business enterprise in which he is actor arises in how the household work and organization is subordinated to its requirements as they become his.

The relation through which men appropriated women's labour is changed. It is no longer part of the organization of an economic enterprise in which women are included. Now an individual man appropriates as his the work done by his wife or other women of his family. The individual man becomes the enterprise so far as the family is concerned. The earliest and most typical form of this is that of the individual professional. It becomes general as the career rather than individual ownership structures the entry and activity of the individual as economic agent. As the corporate form of organizing agency and ownership become primary, the individual's agency and relation to the means of production are organizationally mediated. The relation of appropriation becomes highly personalized. It becomes a general form characterizing the relations of middle class women and men in work situations in the home and outside.

This is visible in many forms. It is there, for example, in what we do not know about women in the past. It is present, for example, in our ignorance until recently of the fact that the figure of the British astronomer William Herschel concealed that of a second astronomer, his sister, Caroline, who shared his work, perhaps shared his discoveries, made discoveries of her own, kept house for him and acted as his secretary. When a group of eminent sociologists wrote accounts of how one of their major pieces of work were done, some described a very substantial contribution by their wives. No one raised questions then about the fact that the husband appropriated that work as his and that the wives' work contributed to the advancement of their husbands' careers and reputations and not to theirs. The middle class relation of appropriation by men of women's work is incorporated into professional, bureaucratic and managerial organization. It appears as a differentiation of women's and men's roles providing for the structuring of a career for men in positions which are technically specialized and superordinate, and a truncated structure of advancement for women in positions which are skilled but ancillary and subordinate to those of men, and, of course, low paid. Women were and are secretaries, graduate nurses, dental hygienists, and elementary classroom teachers. Men were and are managers, doctors, dentists and principals and vice-principals of elementary schools. Prentice's study of "the feminization" of teaching in 19th century Canada indicates that as the school system expanded, the structuring of women's and men's roles was consciously designed to permit men in the teaching profession a career and salaries at a professional level. This was possible only by allocating a substantial part of the work to women teachers whose rates of pay were depressed and whose advancement was limited. (33) Until recently these forms of employment for middle class women were institutionalized as a transitional status between childhood and marriage. Possible competition and social contradiction between women's occupational status and subordination to the husband after



marriage were avoided by terminating employment on marriage or by ensuring that married women did not occupy professional positions of any authority.(34)

In these developments we find the social and material bases of the form of family which we have taken as typical and which we are only now becoming aware of as a distinct historical and cultural form in moving away from it. This is the household and family organization which is a distinct economic unit, primarily a "consuming" unit - i.e. one in which women's domestic labour producing the subsistence of its individual members depends upon a money income. Household and family are increasingly tied to the individual man's career and less to an interlinking of family relations and enterprises. Household and family are enucleated. The interests of the wife are held to be intimately bound up with her husband's career. In various ways she is expected to support him morally and socially as well as through the ways in which her domestic labour ensures both his ordinary physical well being and his proper presentation of self. His career should pay off for her in increments of prestige in the relevant social circles and in home furnishings, a larger home - in general in the material forms in which his advancement in the organization may be expressed in relations between neighbours, friends and colleagues. As corporations increase in size and the managerial structure is increasingly objectified, a sharp contradiction arises between individual autonomy and subordination to authority. For men there is a peculiarly difficult combination of the need to exercise initiative, to give leadership, and to take risks as ingredients of a successful career and the requirements of conformity to organizational exigencies, norms and criteria of achievement in a hierarchical structure. Hence tension management comes to be seen as an important responsibility of middle class wives.

As the professional, government and corporate apparatus becomes consolidated as a ruling apparatus, forms of action in words and symbols become a fully differentiated form. Language is constituted as a discrete mode of action. This requires a division of labour which will organize and provide for the necessary material aspects of communication. Processes of action which are merely communicative depend on specific divisions of labour as well as a technology. Hence the elaboration of clerical work. But women's domestic labour also comes to be organized specifically to service this conceptually organized world of action.

It is a condition of a man's being able to enter and become absorbed in the conceptual mode that he does not have to focus his activities and interest upon his bodily existence. If he is to participate fully in the abstract mode of action, then he must be liberated also from having to attend to his needs, etc. in the concrete and particular. The organization of work and expectations in managerial and professional circles both constitutes and depends upon the alienation of men from their bodily and local existence. The structure of work and the structure of career take for granted that



these matters are provided for in such a way that they will not interfere with his action and participation in that world. Providing for the liberation from the Aristotelian categories (of time and space) of which Bierstedt speaks, is a woman who keeps house for him, bears and cares for his children, washes his clothes, looks after him when he is sick and generally provides for the logistics of his bodily existence.(35)

The home then becomes an essential unit in organizing the abstracted modes of ruling in the context - the necessary and ineluctable context - of the local and particular.

These changes introduce a new subordination of the home to the educational system. The technological, accounting and communicative practices of the emerging ruling apparatus requires appropriate skills as a condition of entry and of action in its modes. Language skills, indeed perhaps just those styles of speech identified originally by Bernstein as an elaborated code, are essential to participation in this form of action and being. The work of mothering in relation to the work of the school becomes an essential mediating process in the production and reproduction of class relations among the bourgeoisie and against the working class.

The educational system and access to the educational system mediated and controlled by family, home and, above all, by the work of women as mothers, comes to provide the major transgenerational linkage of class. Children are no longer prospectively actors in the moving history of family relations entwined with property and economic enterprise. Sons are no longer prospectively those who will carry on family businesses and hence provide for the continuity of capital built in the work of one generation forward towards the next. Daughters are no longer those who will consolidate alliances or relations linking social economic and political relations into a network of kin. Children progressively become the object of parental work, particularly the work of mothers, aimed at creating a definite kind of person, with distinct communicative skills in speech and writing and with capacities to take advantage of an educational process through which they can become advantaged.

Much of the literature on the relation between family, class and education fails to recognize that it is the product of the work of women. The school as an organization of work presupposes prior and concomitant work which is done by women in the home. This work is never named as such. It is seen in ways which render the time, skill, effort involved invisible. It is translated into love, responsibility or merely treated mechanically - home has an influence on school performance; the family has an influence on school achievement, etc., etc. The relation is not recognized as an actual work process. Here for example is a description of a "home" setting which is favourable to the successful child:

David is the son of professional parents who have themselves been educated in a grammar school. They provide him with facilities for doing homework in a separate room and light a fire when necessary. There is therefore little interruption from other members of the family or from television and radio. If he has trouble with his homework he can turn to either his mother or father for help, and many books of reference are available. His cultural background is constantly a help to him at school and in his homework. Mother or father may even inspect his homework regularly or occasionally. (36)

The authors are properly aware of the significance of economic factors in this picture and it is indeed contrasted with the situation of a working class boy of similar age and abilities. What is not visible to them apparently is the work of mothering which provides the facilities; which inhibits interruption; which cleans, lays the fire, feeds, provides an orderly environment and indeed which has almost certainly provided the "cultural background" which becomes his. In general middle class mothers are both expected to and do spend a great deal of time and work around the organization of the home to facilitate their children's work in school and in developing their children's skills in the non-specific ways summed up in "cultural background" or "language abilities". Somehow it is often described as if the language skills of a child are acquired by some kind of osmosis merely from the atmosphere of the home. There is a lack of recognition of the amount of actual work and thought which middle class women, having time, skills and opportunity, expend upon their children. Mothers train their children in the responsibilities of school work; in scheduling; in mood control, in the organization of physical behaviour adapting them to the classroom. Mothers may supply their children's deficiencies and prevent errors, lapses and delays from becoming visible at school and hence being consequential in the child's record. This is work. It is an important part of how middle class women's work in the home serves to organize and sustain the inequalities of class.

At a certain point there appears to be a reversal in the relation between the domestic unit and the economic organization. At the outset of the development of capitalist property relations, the family/household unit supported and was subordinated to the economic enterprise. With the increasingly sharp separation of household and family from a role in the social construction of property relations and the declining significance of the broader social network based on kin and family, the original relation becomes reversed. Economic activity more and more takes the form of paid employment and the career is a means to private accumulation. For the managerial or professional employee of corporation or the state, the salary is a means to building personal and family assets - a home investment, life insurance, a better pension, leisure "capital" - a summer cottage, a boat, etc. The emergence of the sphere of "personal life" which Zaretsky attributes to the appearance of industrial

capitalism as such seems rather to be a later development. It seems to be correlated with this shift from economic agency directly identified with the individual capitalist as property-owner, to the forms of agency mediated by the corporate form of property holding. "Personal life" becomes the object of investment. Salaries, their increments and careers build private assets rather than the advancement of an enterprise with which the small capitalist is identified as an individual. Porter notes a characteristic difference between patterns of wealth among the very rich and the not-so-very rich. The latter hold a larger percentage of real estate, mortgages, life insurance, etc., whereas among the very large estates stocks and shares predominate.<sup>(37)</sup> Such accumulation of private wealth has been organized in relation to the marital unit. New forms of matrimonial property legislation are sought to accommodate these newer patterns. In the new Ontario legislation, for example:

At the core of the Act is the concept of "family assets" - roughly speaking, the matrimonial home and any property owned by one or both spouses and ordinarily used by them or their children, while residing together. Family assets could include the family car, cottage, boat, furniture, furnishings, household bank account, savings or investments.<sup>(38)</sup>

These changes indicate that capital no longer depends upon the family to constitute those forms of property relations enabling the individual man to act as an individual property-owner yet providing for the perpetuation of capital beyond the lifetime of the individual. They indicate that the property-holding form constitutive of capital is fully separated from dependency upon the economic persona of the individual subsuming the family organization which earlier provided for its continuity.

##### 5. The extra-local social organization of class

As we have proceeded with the analysis of family and class and the bourgeois and middle class family as an aspect of the organization of a ruling class, we have been taking for granted that the organization of a class, of a ruling class at least, is an actual activity or activities, that it involves work, that it is continually produced and reproduced with respect to how the means of production are controlled. We have been viewing the middle class family as an active part of the internal organization of the class and, most recently, in relation to the social organization of preferential access to the educational system. We have focussed also upon changes taking place in capitalism which arise from its essential dynamic. The latter feeds effects to the "surface" creating problems, new alignments and divisions requiring an active work to reorganize the intra-class relations of the ruling class. The family and the work of women in the family have been central in the work of organizing and re-organizing the internal structure of the ruling class, as a class. A major change in the basis of the ruling class has been the progressive reorganization of property relations and the emergence of a differentiated basis of class, giving rise to sections structured as differentiated forms of agency in relation



to the division of property functions represented by the corporate form. These changes continue with a movement towards an increasingly hierarchical organization more and more tightly articulated to the structures of finance capital.(39)

In this section we will draw attention to the relation of this ruling apparatus and the general social relations of capitalism to relations among particular people necessarily always located in particular places, viewing the world from their actual bodily location and in very ordinary ways, eating, fucking, suffering, giving birth, loving, hating, working, living and dying. The organization of these relations - the ways in which the living of particular individuals is organized in relation to the abstracted generalized relations of exchange and ruling is a major work of the family and in particular of the middle class family under capitalism.

A major shift took place in the basis of ruling class organization with the emergence of a class based on the extra-local organization of commodity exchange relations and the organization of financial and mercantile activities at an international and national level. This shift is the basis of a developing centralization of the ruling class in Europe as well as the formation gradually of international linkages. Marshall has pointed out that the class structure of Britain, as he observed it in the 1940s and 50s was distinctly differentiated with respect to local and national structures. The "ruling class" (a term he did not use) was organized nationally, whereas the working class was still locally and regionally organized. The significance of dialects and "accents" in England was the expressive aspect of this structure. In the United States, the organization of the ruling class in the late 19th century had a more regional structure, sometimes cross-cutting national boundaries, as the west coast elite of the ruling class based on lumber, railroads and coal linked California, Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. Though the north-eastern establishment of the U.S. exercised a centralizing pull, the geographical dispersion of its bases prevented the increasingly extra-local and abstracted forms of property, finance, marketing and management from developing the strongly centralized organization of the ruling class characteristic of Britain. In Canada the indigenous development of class arising in relation to indigenous economic organization is given a distinctive character in the late 19th century by the intersection of the leading section of the Canadian ruling class with that of Britain. But whether centralized or regional, the generalized and abstracted relations of commodity exchange progressively detached the bourgeoisie from particular localities and regions and from the organization of class relations on a local basis. Hence intra-class relations had to be re-formed on the national or non-local level. These relations had also to be organized in and as part of an actual everyday world,



a world inhabited by particular individuals, embodied, who necessarily exist in local and particular places. The social organization of the ruling trans-local class must be accomplished at the local and particular level in the everyday world. The everyday world and its order had to be redesigned so as to realize in local settings the properties, settings and order of a non-local, abstracted general order. Class as an everyday social phenomenon came to consist of highly developed codes of dress, manners, etiquette, furnishings, organizing practices of exclusion and inclusion and the ordering and control of the settings in which intrapersonal encounters occurred. Everything that we have laughed at about women in reading novels, fashion magazines and the like becomes less silly and more intelligible, when we see that this is what is and was going on. The attention to fashion, the eagerness to learn and imitate what is being worn this season in New York, in London, in Paris; these were part of the formation of a non-locally organized class as a lived-in everyday world. These are part of the social organization of the ruling class as a class. Davidoff has stressed this change in the local organization of class relations in her study of the Best Circles in 19th century London. She describes how rules of access to privatized settings and to social circles provided a new basis of class organization.

Before this period, the problem of maintaining barriers against newcomers was never so important. The whole basis of social relations was family (or pseudo-family) ties between equals in the elite, or patronage across well-defined hierarchical lines. The new formalized system of etiquette made it possible for the first time, to use those kin alliances that were profitable and quietly drop those that were not. And there is evidence that this was widely practiced. (40)

So there is a change in the internal organization of the ruling class away from localized and localizing networks of kin and towards a distinctly created order of relations and settings, a definitely stylized, expressive and staged everyday world, identifying, marking, and re-forming intra-class relations, and securing and organizing closure of the interpersonal relations of the ruling class. The elaboration of a code, or a system of codes in furnishing and dress styles, in etiquette, conversation, etc., etc., provided for mutual recognition among members of the class and the routine accomplishment of social "circles" as a hierarchy within the ruling class. Entry to the best, or even the next best, circles depended upon already being a member in the sense of knowing how to recognize and to reproduce the expressive codes which announced membership and having therefore capacity to participate in the circles defined by their codes. Subordinate sections of the ruling class oriented towards the styles, manners and etiquette as a means of establishing in their local setting their

claim to membership in it. Through these means too they sharply differentiated themselves from others in their local community whose local economic and social roles might be little different from theirs.

The formation of the ruling class at an extra-local level appears in a distinct and dramatic form in Van Kirk's account of the marriages of the Governor and Chief Factor of the northern department of the Hudson Bay Company in the early 19th century. As Van Kirk describes the relations established by marriage a la facon du pays, native Indian women's skills and kinship linkages were essential to the fur traders. Native women were specifically located and linked in to particular kinship networks and often to a specific trading post. They could not be integrated into class relations formed on an extra local basis. Both the Governor and Chief Factor were married in this fashion. Both subsequently on visits to England married young English gentlewomen. On returning to Canada they repudiated their native wives and attempted to establish appropriate forms of social life in the Canadian setting. Van Kirk emphasizes how these marriages re-constituted in this new setting, the class relations of their country of origin - a country represented economically by great mercantile companies of which the men were officers.

The coming of the white women to the Indian country brought into disrepute the indigenous social customs of the fur trade. Marriage à la facon du pays was now no longer acceptable...European ladies themselves, by zealously guarding what they considered to be their intrinsically superior status, actively fostered an increasing stratification of fur trade society.(41)

But the exclusiveness was not only with respect to alliances with Indian women. The rules of exclusion imported from England as an everyday practice of class applied to European women as well. Van Kirk notes that the Governor:

felt that there were few women even among the European ladies in Red River with whom his wife Frances could form an intimate acquaintance.(42)

From the same period we learn of the dangers of allowing children to form local associations and thereby acquire the moral practices, language and personal relations tying a member of the ruling class into local networks rather than forming the appropriate allegiances and alliances to the extra-local organization of class. A Canadian work on the education of young people recommends:

Do not parents suffer their children to be too much in the streets? where they mix into the company of boys of every description: here they learn nothing but lying, swearing and other bad practices. Here perhaps they choose companions who are both mischievous and immoral, and never know what it was to be taught better...

By continually mixing with bad company, men as well as boys will find their ideas contracted, their judgments...will be found to be wrongly informed, the delicate ties of amity and friendship will be corroded, and many a noble sentiment will be dislodged from the breast it loved to inhabit.<sup>(43)</sup>

In this type of class organization, being an outsider is a distinct way in which class is experienced. Being present and yet knowing oneself to be an outsider and knowing oneself to be known as an outsider, who does not know how to speak, does not know how to dress, does not know how to address the appropriate topics appropriately, does not recognize the differentiating signals of dress, does not know which fork to use, or what a finger bowl is for, or how to speak or not to speak to servants; who does not know what to wear at what times of day, and in what settings -- these were features of the social organization of the ruling class at this extra-local level. In this way an extra-local everyday world is formed building in rules of exclusion and inclusion as codes and knowledge of codes.

At the state of entrepreneurial capitalism, the small town was still a locus of extra-local class formation. Though members of the bourgeoisie and middle class looked towards a centre such as Boston or New York or London in terms of allegiances and culture, the actual locus of organization was decentralized. The structure of entrepreneurial capitalism relates locally organized enterprises via market and monetary processes which are extra-local. But market functions themselves were enterprises located in towns and cities and tied into a locally organized class structure. At this stage of capitalism we find the work of producing class and class relations and intra- and extra-class relations within the local community. We can identify this localized organization of class in novels such as those of Anthony Trollope in England, or of Sara Jeanette Duncan in Canada. Typical is the interplay between local neighbourhood, kin and political relations. At this stage (which of course did not develop nor disappear at the same time everywhere) there is a direct transfer from the relations generated by the economic organization of the community to its political, and civil relations. The local social organization of the ruling class is largely the work of the women and implicates the family and familial relations. The boundaries are drawn by admission into the family setting, a family setting which is specifically designed and organized so as to intersect with and create the class linkages and allegiances coded in furniture, styles of meals and serving meals, conversational topics, and so on. The domestic labour of the middle class women and her servants were directed of course also towards the comfort and health



of her family members, but also and very importantly towards maintaining the material aspects of the codes articulating the family setting and social process to the extra-local organization of class.

The basis of the family and domestic organization of classes as an extra-local structure within the local setting changes with the change from entrepreneurial forms of capitalism to the corporate form. A study of the history of a town called Glossop in England shows a sequence from the emergence in the late 18th and early 19th century of a multitude of small manufacturers owning small shops who at the outset worked along with their wage-labourers, through the consolidation of larger units on which a local bourgeoisie was established, to the shift away from that to an externally structured strata of salaried managers linked to the rise of what Birch calls combinations (Birch, 1959). These are changes which shift the locus of economic organization as a practice of management and of relations among the differing functions of the economic process out of the local community. There is a leaching out process which has been described in many ways. The decline of the rural small town is a facet of this change. MacDougall, writing in 1913 of Canada, describes this transformation of the local world as a depletion.

The loss of village commerce is following that of village crafts. A quarter of a century ago the village storekeeper was a prosperous man. He was not uncommonly the wealthiest man in the community. His place of business served, in a way, as a social centre. His family, and he himself, were helpers and leaders in every social enterprise, including the church. Then in 1876 John Wanamaker organized the Departmental Store and the Mail Order System...Cheap and rapid transit made the mail order system possible. The one-price system and each description in advertising, together with large turnover and direct service, made it efficient. Retail trading has in consequence been revolutionized. Wholesaling half a century ago was done over the counter. The country trader travelled to the city to place his orders. Then came the drummer, the modern "commercial man". A completely as wholesale trade was thereby recast in new moulds, so fully is retailing now being made over. We are in the last hours of the older day.(44)

This progressive transposition of economic functions from individual enterprises locally organized to corporate form organized at the national or international level is the same movement which creates the salaried middle class. C. Wright Mills has described this change statistically for the United States in the changing ratios of salaried professionals' and managers to independent businessmen and professionals.(45) It is a change also in the bases of class organization hence the work of the middle class family in constituting the internal relations of class is modified accordingly.



When a big business moves into a town, the distribution of social prestige and civic effort changes; as big business enlarges its economic and political power, it creates a new social world in its image. Just as the labor markets of the smaller cities have been dominated, so also have their markets for prestige. The chief local executives of the corporations, the \$10,000 to \$25,000 a year men, gain the top social positions, displacing the former social leaders of the city. Local men begin to realize that their social standing depends upon association with the leading officials of the absentee firms; they struggle to follow the officials' style of living, to move into their suburbs, to be invited to their social affairs, and to marry their own children into these circles. Those whose incomes do not permit full realization of what has happened to the social world, or who refuse to recognize its dynamic, either become eccentric dwarfs of the new status system or, perhaps without recognizing it, begin to imitate in curious miniature the new ways of the giants. When the big firm comes to the small city the wives of officialdom become models of the local women of the old middle class. The often glamorous women of the firm's officials come and go between the metropolitan center and their exclusive suburb of the small city. In the eyes of the small businessman's wife who has Not Been Invited one sees the social meaning of the decline of the old middle class.(46)

Mills represents this as a decline of the old middle class and indeed it is. But it should be emphasized also that it is a social re-organization of the internal relations of the bourgeoisie and middle class in response to changes in economic organization. New forms of local relationship emerge. The relations of the abstracted economic forms are no longer an active and integral process of neighbourhood and community relations. Now they must be expressed and organized as an everyday world in the local setting. The house, household, furnishings become a key then to forms of relations between neighbours in which house properties lie alongside one another so to speak, unrelated by the various working relations which linked members of a community in the earlier period. In this setting there, their relations are mediated by the visible signs which constitute for each other their mutual class status and hence bring into being the actual social organization of class and its internal structures as status.

In its specifics there may be more than one way in which the family organization can articulate its relation to the abstracted and externalized system of relations which comes to predominate in the generalization of the corporate form. Take for example the family of Mrs. Dormo. She organizes her home in such a way as to maximize at all points the detachment from the local and particular. Her home is like an island in which all the relations of its members

to the immediate neighbourhood are controlled or cut off. Her husband, a government scientist, enters by a basement garage immediately from his work and passes directly into the house. Her children go to a private school noted for its academic level. They have no contact with neighbourhood children. Their time at home is informally, but fully surveilled. This pattern of restricting the relations of members of the household to the local neighbourhood liberates its members for orientation towards the abstracted modes of action characteristic, in this instance, of professional and academic social forms. In this instance there is no display toward the outside because the household is closed off from its external local relations. Contrast this with the pattern described by Seeley et al. of Crestwood Heights, an upper-middle class neighbourhood in Toronto.<sup>(47)</sup> They describe a deployment of the exterior of the home, as well as glimpses to its interior, as a display to neighbours.

These can be seen as alternative modes of organizing the relations among families constitutive in the local setting of an extra-local ruling class. Detachment from the locality is one strategy. More general has been the establishing of suburban status enclaves, of which Crestwood Heights is an instance, providing distinctive types of housing, types of schooling, and excluding "undesirables" by informal real estate practices and zoning regulations restricting the financial basis of the area. This type of suburban development constitutes a total environment controlled with respect to the bases of participation. The control is built into the material environment and the use-value it embodies. These organize the world as it is known and acted in. Restricting entry provides for residents a controlled social environment which ensures that others are at least minimally appropriate as class associates and that as far as children are concerned the contacts they make, the associations they form and what they learn informally, will be within the desired class level. These forms of class residential organization correspond to the abstracted form of organization arising with the corporate form of capitalism in a way that is analogous to how science fiction writers have imagined that an alien form of life might reproduce its specialized and controlled climatic form and air supply in a variety of specific local settings.

The process then is one of constructing the social relational basis of a class that is no longer organized on a local basis in relation to land and a local organization of general market processes, but on a basis of modes of identifying persons in terms of performance in social occasions, knowing how to behave, how to dress, how to appear, and therefore upon behaviours which can be learned even though access to opportunities of learning may be restricted. Identification of class membership is no longer particularistic but is based upon and constitutes persons as kind of currency whose value is determined by qualifications, by styles, by dress, and by knowing

how and what to say, how to participate. These are more than accidental properties of social class, they are an aspect of its organization. "Knowing how" is a key to recognizing and identifying the "right" kind of people. It provides a basis for all kinds of entitlement to access which again we tend to see as somehow an irrational association with social class. We are surprised, as we should not be, that even when there is a socialized medicine, members of the bourgeoisie are treated differently; that schools receive and treat middle class parents differently than they treat working class parents; and so forth. These are not contingent aspects of class. They are rather intrinsic to its social organization. The socialization process and specifically the work of the home as an aspect of the socialization responsibilities of the mother as well as of the contingent processes of socialization involved in residence in a controlled neighbourhood develops a person who carries his or her class "insignia" on his or her person. The class "insignia" entitles him or her to privileged access and privileged treatment in a wide variety of public and semi-public settings. The concern of parents and the responsibility of mothers to train their children in particular styles of manners, to have them develop "poise" and the ability to "go anywhere" and associate "with anyone" is a work aimed at the training of persons identifiable as class members independently of location, and independently of specific networks of kin, or social circle. It is a work which is to a very large extent done by women for their children and involves the inculcation of a rather specialized culture and behavioural forms at levels requiring intensive training, much of which is done in the early years of life prior to the child's going to school. The articulation of such trained and specialized behaviours to types of formally organized settings such as schools is part of the social construction of class transgenerationally, the social construction aspect of the distinctive mode in which the bourgeois class is organized in contemporary corporate capitalism. It establishes both a relatively closed system of entitlement to settings and occasions provided by the various forms of corporate enterprise, including those of university and school, and an interchangeability of persons corresponding to the generalization and interchangeability of settings and occasions established by the generalization of corporate forms of organization.

## 6. Ideological organization

The emergence and progressive integration of the new form of ruling apparatus, distinctively a communicative practice, is also an ideologically informed and organized practice. It is socially organized to be differentiated and separable from particular individuals, and particular places. We can find in Weber's analysis of the bureaucratic type of authority, the essential prescription for the formation of a managerial or administrative structure serving the objectives of an enterprise quite separate from and independent of, the objectives of those who "perform" it, its employees, make its objectives theirs and thereby bring it into being. The bases of access to positions in the ruling apparatus changes. As these no longer clearly differentiate on sex lines, but call for technical



knowledge, qualifications and so forth, the barriers to women's entry are weakened. In response the barriers are artificially and actively reinforced and ideological forms aimed specifically at the organization of middle class women's relation to the ruling apparatus are developed.

The earlier form of economic agency constitutes the biological differences of sex as components of individual private property among the bourgeoisie. As property functions are transferred to the corporation and as the state and professional apparatus grows concurrently, skills acquired through education become increasingly important. So does the formation of the person socialized to roles structured now by the planful and rationally ordered logic of corporate action rather than the individual skills and working relations of actual individuals as actors in a given enterprise. The general capacity to participate in an elaborated world of literate action becomes essential. With these developments, the original basis of married women's exclusion as a component of property relations is no longer a barrier. The "natural" basis of differentiation between the sexes was fundamental to the economic and political organization of pre-capitalist social formations. With the rise of capitalism the basis of differential power and participation in civil society begins to dissipate. The barriers become weak. Major women novelists of the 19th century stood on the margins of power sensing in themselves unused capacities for participation. Their intellectual powers, their energetic intelligence, and exceptional language capacities gave them a natural access to an arena in which they could not act. The social barriers placed on them by their sex emerges in the work of Charlotte Bronte, George Eliot, and others, as a powerful contradiction generating the movement of their novels and the tragic dilemmas of their heroines. The period which first sees a theory of the education of women specifically recommending training for subordination, domesticity and personal servitude to men - notably of course the teachings of Rousseau, also sees the counter-statement in the work of Mary Wollstonecraft. The rise of capitalism rather than instantly precipitating women into the private sphere seems rather to initiate a struggle on one side to reinforce and re-organize the barriers to women's participation and on the other to break through barriers already weakened by the advance of capitalism on the other. This struggle has focussed particularly on women's education. The conception of a specialized education for women preparing them for domesticity points to a new need to plan and organize women's relation to the home. Importantly also, it provides that the very ideological channels through which women's potential access to a wider arena opens, should be those through which they would learn the practice of their confinement. Ideological organization has been central in organizing the role and social relations of bourgeois and middle class women. It has been of special significance for women whose material situations have been such that they could make the everyday realization of ideological forms an objective.



They could adopt styles of being, manners, etiquette, dress, moral relations, in accordance with ideological developments. Intra-class relations were increasingly ideologically organized. Ideological forms began to shift the basis of culture from the inherited forms of previous generations, passed from mother to daughter, to an orientation towards the authority of print and hence of ideology generated within the ruling apparatus itself by specialists of various kinds - by authorities in women's feelings; by experts in women's physiology, biology and sexual capacities; by writers of fiction who created the mirrors in which women sought to discover their reflection; by the makers of moral tales who prescribed the forms of heroism and sacrifice proper to women; by the physicians who packaged ideology and treatment for the nebulous but real suffering arising from the regime of ideological living. Over the shifting requirements of changing social relations of capitalism, ideologies continue to design and redesign the modes of women's subordination and service to the ruling apparatus.

The importance of the domestic labour of middle class and bourgeois women and of their subordination to the economic and political roles played by men and to the work of organizing intra-class relations, has been secured using ideological as well as other means of class control. As education became the key link in the access to economic agency women's access to education had to be regulated. Steps were taken to exclude women from professional, bureaucratic and political positions as these were found to be vulnerable. Active forms of ideological and state repression responding to incursions by middle class women were developed. For example, the rise of women novelists in the 19th century elicited, as Showalter has shown, a critical enterprise amounting almost to censorship on the part of male publishers and literary leaders. Typically "female" styles and topics were institutionalized in the novel through the influence of men whose critical treatment laid down the topics women writers could properly address, how they could address them, and the range of feeling and moral issues which could properly be taken up by the woman writer. Women novelists working for a living had to conform to canons laid down by the ideological specialists of the literary and publishing establishment, i.e., by a male intelligentsia who were part of the class apparatus of ideological controls. Women's novels and the characteristics of women's novels which men subsequently criticized and despised were a genre in large part established by the censorship and criticism of men.<sup>(48)</sup>

In the latter half of the 19th century ideologies developed representing women's intellectual capacity as at war with her natural biological capacity for motherhood.<sup>(49)</sup> The conflicts experienced by intellectual women could be cured by a system of reducing intellectual functioning to a vestigial level. As women

made a direct claim for access to professional training, an institutional process serving most effectively to exclude all but a very few from the leading professional occupations was established. To women there seemed no reason why women should not become university professors, doctors, lawyers or engineers. Women's attempts to gain access to professional training were countered in Britain by legal steps. A series of "person" cases served at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, to define the term "person" written into the constitution of professional training institutions for training physicians, and lawyers, in such a way that women were excluded. This series culminated after suffrage was achieved, with the case brought by Canadian feminists who challenged the interpretation of the term "person" written into the constitution of the Canadian Senate, as excluding women. That case was won. That was the first success of the series of "person" cases. The final court of appeal interpreted it to mean both women and men, thus giving formal access to many areas of the ruling apparatus from which women had often been excluded.

But this success did not change the general situation. Legal barriers were not the only ones. In the United States and Canada medical schools developed quota systems ensuring that only a very small percentage of women would be admitted.<sup>(50)</sup> Other professions, law, engineering, branches of the natural sciences, simply did not admit women. The very rare exception to this general rule was indeed an exception. Women's legal and political gains left the private powers of the ruling institutions unchanged, and in the hands of those with a specific personal interest in maintaining the status quo. It is, I think, the conjunction of this personal with a class interest which has been identified as patriarchy. The actual individual relations of dominance and servitude sustaining the individual man as agent conjoined his personal and private interest with a larger sense of public morality and order - the moral claims to universality of a ruling class. Men could take in this enlarged vision of themselves as defending the Family, as countering the rot from within, the threat to civilization, even as they secured for themselves their personal investment in the personal services of their wives and daughters.

Over time an educational system was put in place which systematically differentiated boys from girls. Girls were streamed into programs ensuring their disqualification from the kinds of advanced training giving access to the professions. The hidden curriculum trained them to be responsive and open to the ideological initiatives and technical practices increasingly originating in experts located in academic settings - instructors on home management, child rearing, interpersonal relations in the family, and the like. Women's post-secondary training came to focus largely within the arts and social sciences, or in subordinate forms of professional

training, such as nursing, pharmacy and teaching. School and post-secondary education emphasizes women's language abilities, their knowledge of social science, art and literature, and trained them to respond and to make use of the work of experts. Women are prepared for their ancillary clerical roles in management. They are provided with the language skills needed to give the "cultural background" on which their future children's success in school will depend. They are also trained to respond to the work of psychological and sociological experts, to psychiatry, and to medicine as authorities and to make practical use of their understanding of the new ideologies produced by such specialists. Middle class and bourgeois women learned to treat the academic and professional sources of guidance with deference and to look to the expert for guidance in child rearing and in the management of interpersonal relations in the home. They learned in university the essential conceptual organization articulating their daily work lives in the home to categories and concepts of the scientific establishment. They learnt indeed to think in terms of role and interpersonal relations, to analyze their situation and work in these terms, hence not to see what they were doing as work, to understand it as "love", as "role structures" and "interpersonal processes". They learned to look for problems and issues as these were analyzed and constituted by experts. These skills are pieces of an ideological organization linking the private domestic sphere to the professional bureaucratic and managerial controls of the ruling apparatus. The ideological organization co-ordinated and co-ordinates the family and women's role in relation to the changing and various needs of the ruling apparatus. Education not only ensured that women would not end with the types of skills giving them an undeniable claim to entry as active participants to the ruling apparatus, but also laid down specific ideological controls through which the changing relations of a rapidly shifting capitalist development could be reformulated and reorganized as they were fed through to the family and to women's work in the family. Women learned in post-war North America, a "feminine mystique" extolling the devotion of women to children, husband and suburban home<sup>(51)</sup> and they learned to seek their personal fulfillment in this ideologically formulated and inculcated enterprise. Magazines, advertising, furniture and appliance stores instructed them in the material terms in which the ideal life would appear. It would look like this bedroom suite, these brown and laughing children, this white house surrounded by smooth green lawns, this woman placid, smiling, maternal and totally self-effacing. The psychologists and sociologists produced massive documentation of the ways in which mother's behaviour was consequential for her child's achievement in school. A quasi-scientific literature instructed mothers in the detailed and comprehensive effects of daily interaction and how to control and modify these in ways conducive to the child's so-called maturation. Middle class women were learning and participating, unbeknownst to themselves, in a work role ancillary and subordinated to, the educational system. The ideological organization provided the organizational linkage which seemed like no linkage at all. The "casual" rhetoric



of psychology and sociology was a one-way street. What mothers did affected how children did in school. What went on in the home was the "wild" factor uncontrolled by the hierarchical structure of the educational process. Ideological organization originating in a scientific establishment and mediated by the mass media came to co-ordinate the private and state sectors of responsibility for children, as indeed in other spheres.

These relations among ideological organizations, a family form subordinating women in a subcontractual relation<sup>(52)</sup> to a ruling apparatus of government, management and professions mediated as personal services to husband and children, and an educational system preparing them for these family functions and for the essentially subordinate clerical and professional roles middle class women came to play, are the matrix of the experience of patriarchy among middle class women. The authority of men over women is the authority of a class and expresses class "interest". The inner complicity of women in their own oppression is a feature of class organization. The concept of "patriarchy" explicates as a social relation between women and men the conjunction of institutions locking middle class women into roles ancillary but essential to, the ruling apparatus and specifically silencing them by giving them no access to the ideological, professional and political means in which their experience might be communicated to other women.

#### 7. The changing material bases of dependency

Dependency of married women, and particularly women with children on men and men's salaries or wages is a feature of both middle class and working class family relations in contemporary capitalism. This is not simply a matter of universal family form characteristic of a species rather than a culture or mode of production. Women's dependency must be seen as arising in a definite social form and, we have suggested, organized rather differently in differing class settings and relations. One view identifies the emergence of this type of family organization with the rise of capitalism. As the productive process is increasingly taken over by the industrial organization of production, the family becomes a consuming rather than a producing unit, and women's domestic labour ceases to play a socially productive role and becomes a personal service to the wage earner. Her domestic labour reproduces the labour power of the individual worker. Here is Secombe's account:

With the advent of industrial capitalism, the general labour process was split into two discrete units: a domestic and an industrial unit. The character of the work performed in each was fundamentally different. The domestic unit reproduced labour power for the labour market. The industrial unit produced goods and services for the commodity market. This split in the labour process had produced a split in the labour force roughly along sexual lines - women into the domestic unit, men into industry.<sup>(53)</sup>



But as we acquire more historical knowledge of women we find that the sharpness of this supposed historical moment becomes blurred. The emergence of the dependent family form is slow and seemingly contingent upon elaborations and developments of the original separation of domestic economy from the industrial process. As we explore the dynamic process at work we can recognize a contradiction in the rise of capitalism so far as women and their relation to the family are concerned. It seems that the same industrial capitalism leading apparently to a restriction and narrowing of the scope of women's work in the home and to her and her children's dependency on a man's wage, is also a process which potentially advances women's independence by making it in principle at least possible for women to earn enough to support themselves, perhaps even to support their children. Productive labour formerly tied to sex differences by different physical and biological situations and also by the intimate ties of skills which were earlier a true specialization of persons from childhood or youth on. As production is increasingly mediated by machine technologies and increasingly organized as a form of enterprise specifically separated from particular individuals and their local relations, it is also increasingly indifferent to social differentiations, such as gender or race. (54) At every new level in the development of productive capacity in capitalism, this contradiction is apparent. Capitalism continually represents the possibility of women's independence and at the same time engenders conditions and responses which have constituted a fully dependent form of family unit. It seems then that the dependency of both middle class and working class women on the individual man's salary or wage must be examined in relation to the organization of the labour market and employment possibilities for women outside the home.

Let us look first at one rather straightforward and simple picture of the relation. It is taken from the 1961 census. Husband, wife and two children can model for us the family which exactly reproduces itself. Podoluk estimated for 1961 that a money income meeting the basic needs of a family of four would be \$3,500. Podoluk kept her estimates pretty tight.(55) But this figure represents what it would cost just to live - no frills, no discretionary purchases. If we imagine the same women, same children, but no man, we have a family of three and their basic income should be \$3,000. Just barely managing, but making it.

Table I (page 42) is striking. It shows us that in 1961 only the earnings of managerial and professional women would have been sufficient to maintain at a basic level a family consisting of themselves and two children. These categories are a rather small proportion of women in the labour force. True, we are looking at income earned in both full and part-time jobs. But the high levels of hidden unemployment developing with women's increasing labour force participation(56) suggests that the option of full-time employment cannot be taken for granted so far as women are concerned.

	Four Member Family - Basic No Frills Income \$3,500	Three Member Family - Basic No Frills Income \$3,000
	Occupations and Average Earnings - Men	Occupations and Average Earnings - Women
Earnings more than basic income -	Managerial (\$6,673) Prof. & Techn. (\$5,448) Sales (\$3,908)	Managerial (\$3,207)
Breaking even (or \$100 of base income)	Clerical \$3,409 Trans. & Comm. (\$3,419) Crafts & Prod. (\$3,566)	Prof. & Techn. (\$2,996)
Earnings less than base income -	Service & Rec. (\$3,161) Farm (\$1,401) Labourers (\$2,157)	Clerical (\$2,340) Sales (\$1,367) Service & Rec. (\$1,158) Farm (\$607) Crafts & Prod. (\$1,788) Labourers (\$1,449)

Table I: Basic no frills income for four member and three member families, by occupation, average earnings and sex, 1961.

\*Based on J. Podoluk, The Incomes of Canadians, D.B.S., Ottawa, 1968.

The table shows that the majority of women earn less than the income sufficient for a family of three. By contrast the majority of men's average earnings are at the break-even level or better and only workers in service and recreation, farm workers and labourers earn less than the basic income for a four member family. If we required women's earnings to provide for the four member family, that would exclude every category of women workers. Indeed the average earnings for women in most categories fell below the basic no frills income needed for a two member family (\$2,500). Women's average earnings would not, for the most part, support a woman and her child. It is clear then, as soon as a woman has a child to support, her options are sharply reduced. Quite apart from the lack of adequate childcare and other sources of support, such as school meals, etc., women's rates of pay incapacitated them from independence. Men can (or could) count on earnings which would provide both for children and a wife. Women cannot count on earnings sufficient for themselves and children.

Over time, working class and middle class patterns of family organization have become more alike with respect to the wife's dependency on her husband's wage or salary. But the history of that relation is very different. The earlier civil status of a man simply obliterated his wife's as she was subsumed in the family economic unit identified with him. She had no place in civil society, no capacity for economic action, at least so long as she was married. What she produced, what she earned, if she did earn, was his. Later her domestic labour becomes subordinated to the enterprise of his career and employment outside the home is organized to ensure that the jurisdictions of male authority and appropriation of women's labour inside the home and outside it do not interfere with one another. Dependency is part of a perpetuated pattern of excluding women and married women in particular from functioning as independent economic agents.

This history of the present family form among the working class is very different. It does not begin with women's exclusion from economic activity and it does not involve the formation of a property-holding unit identified with the man. The legal forms were the same and those gave men the right to women's earnings, but the actual practice and organization of work relations and economic contributions did not conform to the bourgeois or middle class pattern. The exclusive dependency of women on men's wages is only gradually established and is differently structured. For working class women, dependency is directly on the man's wage-earning capacity and role and men's status and authority in the family is directly linked to his capacity to earn. Moore and Sawhill summarize the sociological studies on the effects of wife's employment outside the home on marital power relations, drawing attention to the greater effect among working class women.

A number of studies have found that wives who are employed exercise a greater degree of power in their marriages. Marital power is higher among women employed in full-time



than those working for pay part-time or not at all, and it is greatest among women with the most prestigious occupations, women who are most committed to their work, and those whose salaries exceed their husbands'. Working women have more say especially in financial decisions. This tendency for employment to enhance women's power is strongest among lower and working class couples.(57)

As we learn more of the history, we find that the emergence of the dependent form of the family among the working class was far from an abrupt and immediate consequence of the rise of industrial capitalism. The subsistence work of women in relation to the household as an economic unit has only gradually been supplanted by the industrial process and only gradually have women been weaned from contributing to the means of household subsistence as contrasted with labour applied to the direct production of the subsistence of its members. There is also an active process of excluding women, and married women in particular, from the labour market. This is a response to the indifference of the industrial enterprise to the sex of the worker as such and of the tendency to use women whose lower wages made them attractive in competition with men, but it is also a more general response to the emergence of an endemic problem within capitalism, the creation of a permanent and increasing surplus labour population. On the one hand women came into competition with men for jobs in industry and on the other, their labour was essential in the home, so that house and family were in competition with industry for women's labour. Working class men through their representative organizations, trade unions, sought to resolve these dual stresses by stratifying the labour force in such a way that women did not compete with men, and that they continued to be paid at rates which ensured that industry could not compete with the family. Concomitantly they aimed at a wage for men sufficient to maintain a family.

The dependence of the mother-children unit on the male wage-earner emerges rather slowly. Anderson describes, for early 19th century Lancashire, a form of family in which all its members with the exception of the very young and the very old worked outside the home and contributed their earnings. Scott and Tilly have identified a distinct form of working class and petty bourgeois family economy which they describe as the "family wage economy". It is one in which each member earns and contributes to a common fund out of which the family needs are met. They argue that although a relatively small proportion of married women were employed in industry until relatively late in the 19th century, the pattern of women not contributing actively to the household economy comes very late. A wife who did not earn or otherwise contribute directly to the family means of subsistence and who had to depend upon her husband's wage was most definitely undesirable. Married women worked outside the home, brought money or goods into the home in all kinds of ways.



They took in lodgers. Many had gardens and produced for their families and could sell the small surplus they might produce. Women were small traders, peddlars, went into domestic service, were laundresses, seamstresses, farm labourers, scavengers, as well as industrial workers.

Cross's work on women's work in Montreal in the latter part of the 19th century shows a wide variety of enterprises in which women were employed.<sup>(58)</sup> In addition to domestic service, women worked in textile, clothing, boot and shoe, and tobacco factories. Also

...there were many small dressmakers', milliners' and tailors' shops, and seamstresses and dressmakers worked in private houses on a daily basis.<sup>(59)</sup>

Women also did productive work in the home. Manufacturers put work out to women at piece rates. Sometimes manufacturers supplied machines to women working at home. The manufacture of men's clothing

was farmed out to women working in their own homes on machines that were either rented or supplied by the manufacturer. In 1892 the J.W. Mackenzie Company had 900 hands on their outside payroll and the H. Story Company 1,400 in addition to the 130 employed in the factory.<sup>(60)</sup>

Other paid work done by women in the Montreal area at that period included running a boarding house and working in small businesses.

Of course many women workers were single, but it clear that many were married. It is married women who would have been working in the home. Moreover the very rapid response to the salles d'asile (day care nurseries) established by women's religious orders in the 1850s indicates the extent of the need. The surviving records of two such salles d'asile show that many children were from families in which both parents went out to work.<sup>(61)</sup>

Under the "family wage" economy children are essential contributors. Children might be employed in factory work, but they had also a wide variety of opportunities for contribution ranging from care of younger children while parents were at work, to housekeeping, gardening, many ordinary chores such as fetching water and as well as odd jobs when these were available. As attendance at public school came to be enforced the school comes into competition with the needs of the family for children's labour.<sup>(62)</sup>

With the institutionalization of universal education, children cease or have already ceased to be regular wage earners contributing to the family wage from early in life. They cease progressively to contribute to the everyday work activities of household work and childcare. Previously the work of children would have relieved the mother of at least some of her household obligations and made it easier for her to undertake employment outside the home.<sup>(63)</sup> The withdrawal of child labour from the household as well as from the labour force, required the presence of mothers in the home. Indeed the home comes to be organized around the scheduling of school and work so that the mother is tied down to the household in a way which was in fact new. Both husbands and children might come home for a mid-day meal. The school imposed standards of cleanliness which themselves represented a serious work commitment on the part of women who had to pump and heat water for washing. In the school context the child appears as the public "product" of a mother's work. Her standards of housekeeping and childcare began to be subject to the public appraisal of the school system through the appearance and conduct of her child in the school. The working class home as a work setting began to be organized by a relation to the school as well as to the place of work. The school itself set standards for women's work as mothers and in various ways enforced them.

The shift from the family wage economic organization to the new enucleated form in which wife and child make no contribution to the family economy with inputs from outside and in which both depend on the man as wage earner and the wife depends upon him for the means to reproduce the domestic order and to provide for her husband the personal service in the form of domestic labour in the home as well as other more immediately personal services. These developments were part of major developments in capitalism and the institutionalization of responses to them resulting in the type of segregated labour force we find today.

Though we do not possess a distinct historical picture, it seems likely that women's labour in relation to household and family subsistence has been particularly subject to the process of transfer to the industrial process. The pre-capitalist division of labour assigned to women tasks more immediately linked to the moment of consumption, more directly productive of actual individual subsistence. Further, much of women's labour involved processing rather than primary production - spinning, weaving, preserving, dairying, etc. These therefore were productive processes which had an "instant" mass market and they have been progressively absorbed into the industrial process - textiles being among the first. Our histories have focussed on the displacement of the artisan weavers by the industrial process, but they have not focussed on the displacement of women's domestic labour by the industrial process. Cobbett, writing about England in the early 19th century, and learning

about the conditions of people in rural areas, describes the shame and despair of married women in one area whose capacity to contribute to the "family wage" household was cut off by the appropriation of the weaving of straw hats by commercial enterprises. Nellie McClung describes the sad uselessness of her mother's skills as a weaver of wool cloth as she was displaced by the commercial product.<sup>(64)</sup> Almost naturally the capitalist process interposed itself where a work process could be absorbed into manufacturing (or commercial organization) and was a regular everyday need of masses of people.

As with bourgeois and middle class women, but under a different aspect, the relation between the local and the developing abstracted organization of productive and exchange relations is consequential. For working class women and particularly married women, the characteristics of the labour market in relation to the home setting are of great importance in the possibility of earning. Changes in urban development have transformed the relation of women to opportunities for work. For example, Cross's description of late 19th century Montreal clearly shows the concentration of women in neighbourhoods close to opportunities for employment.<sup>(64)</sup> The development of mass transit systems, highways and the working class suburb has transformed this relation. These changes are not simply the result of real estate developments. They are linked also to the increased concentration of capital and to the horizontal integration of the work process. Earlier industry tended to be organized as a multiplicity of small factories engaged on different aspects of a total process and the organization of the final product was a market process. Progressively these were integrated into a single organizational and manufacturing process. Concentration is not just on paper. In changing the work situation and the relation of worker to machine, it also changes the relation to locality. The existence of numbers of small factories or other enterprises similarly organized in relation to a local supply of labour was the economic basis of the persistence of stable working class neighbourhoods. For women this meant access to employment close to where they lived. It meant greater flexibility in relation to their responsibilities in the home. Furthermore the stability of the neighbourhood made possible the development of networks of kin and pseudo-kin who could help out with child care, with food, cooking and with an interchange of household and house-keeping facilities. This is the type of neighbourhood organization in which the mother becomes a key figure. It is dependent upon a configuration of stable enterprises accessible to the neighbourhood and using it as a stable source of labour. As these disappear, the economic basis of the neighbourhood is gone and though it may survive it is no longer locked into the organization of the demand for labour.

The development of primary resource industries so characteristic of the Canadian economy requires the location of the industrial process at the source. It is hence indifferent to its relation to other industry or sources of employment. These are situations which show the sharpest dependency of women on men. In Coal is Our Life,



Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter describe for England the almost ritualized subordination of a married woman to her husband, and the independence of men's peer relations, and men's uses of their wages from the influence of women.<sup>(65)</sup> Agnes Smedley's autobiographical novel, Daughter of Earth, describing a childhood largely spent in the mining communities in which her father worked, links a sharp sense of women's oppression with recognition of women's inability to earn as the basis of oppression. In her own family, her mother's sister, who was a prostitute, had greater respect in the home than her mother because she could pay her own way. She describes her mother's attempt to take advantage of the potential political freedoms of women's suffrage when she refused to tell her husband for whom she had voted. When her husband left because of her refusal, Smedley's mother attempted to earn her own and her children's keep by laundering. Smedley herself contributed in whatever way a teenage girl could by doing housework and the like. But they could not earn enough and eventually Smedley's mother had to capitulate.<sup>(66)</sup>

It is not, of course, possible to give decisive weight to any one of these "factors" in transforming women's situation in the family. But of greater general importance is the active planning, administration and organization of, on the one hand, a segregated and stratified labour force, and on the other, the legal and administrative framework of a family in which the wife and children are dependent upon the man. As we shall see in the following section, there has been a conjunction of the organization and interests of a segment of working class men in limiting competition for jobs and securing higher wages and better working conditions, and the interests of the state in the formation of a labour force adequate to the newly developing organization of corporate capital as well as to the military enterprise increasingly prominent as struggle between imperialist powers intensified.

#### 8. The patriarchal organization of the working class family

The dynamic processes of capital accumulation involve an increasingly extensive use of machines making labour more productive. From these processes, two consequences flow for working class women. The first is a tendency of machines to displace labour, generating over time a surplus labour population. This functions as a reserve army of labour in relation to the opening up of new areas of capital investment. The expansion of markets and of opportunities for investment retards the actual appearance of a surplus as such, but the steadily increasing rate of unemployment over time identifies a tendency which cannot be wholly suppressed and is quickened by the monopolistic process of corporate capitalism. The emergence of a permanent surplus labour population is relatively independent of unemployment created in the "crises of overproduction" which periodically throw capitalist economies into recession.<sup>(67)</sup> The presence of this "reserve army of labour" tends to sharpen the competition



of workers for jobs and hence to lower the price of labour-power (the wage). A second consequence is that technological advances have also made differences in physical strength and in skills developed over a lifetime of practice of decreasing significance in the productive process. Parallel to the developments of capitalism which among the ruling class make participation in the exercise of power indifferent to sex, is a development of the productive process rendering it also increasingly indifferent to the sex of the worker. Hence as the surplus labour population increases and competition sharpens, women come into competition with men for jobs. The traditionally lower wages of historically disadvantaged groups such as women and blacks gave them an advantage in competing for jobs which employers had no hesitation in deploying to their own advantage.

Through the 19th and early 20th centuries, this problem was a recurrent theme in male working class views concerning women in the labour force and in the policies of trade and labour unions. The issue for men was not only that of jobs. It was also the implications for the family and for men's traditional status in the family. Various 19th century writers, including Marx himself, saw women's participation in industry as destructive of their "natural" female virtues and modes of being. These "virtues" were intimately tied to notions of passivity and subordination and a restriction of women's spheres of action to a narrow conception of the domestic. Both working class and middle class were marked by the prohibition for women (and for children) of self-knowledge of their sexuality and control of their own bodies. The physical fragility of women, their supposedly natural weakness, is also related to the ways in which women's physical existence was subordinated to that of the husband and children.(69)

When women were employed outside the home and could earn a wage sufficient for independence, their departure from the ideals of femininity became a subject of reprobation. Of the early 19th century, Malmgreen writes:

There was a psychological as well as an economic basis for the male workers' uneasiness, for the chance to earn a separate wage outside the home might free wives and daughters to some extent from the control of their husbands and parents. The piteous image of the sunken-cheeked factory slave must be balanced against that of the boisterous and cheeky "factory lass". Lord Ashley, speaking on behalf of the regulation of child and female labour in factories, warned the House of Commons of the "ferocity" of the female operatives, of their adoption of male habits - drinking, smoking, forming clubs, and using "disgusting" language. This, he claimed, was "a perversion of nature," likely to produce "disorder, insubordination, and conflict in families."(70)

The voice here is that of the ruling class, but on this issue the working class man and the ruling class were united. Malmgreen notes that in the early 19th century this view appears particularly prevalent among leading artisans in the working class movements of Britain in that period. It is the interests of a similar type of worker, crafts and trades workers, which were represented in the American Federation of Labor (AFL). The AFL played a leading role in the organization of a sex stratified (as well as a racially stratified) labour market,<sup>(71)</sup> as corporate capitalism began its great rise in North America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Even in the 1960s the AFL refused its support to any kind of quota system which might rectify the inequalities experienced by blacks and women.

The organization of the American Federation of Labor appears to have gone forward at a time when the contradiction between the potential for women's employment and the emergence of the endemic surplus labour population became acute. Recessions at this period most probably gave employers a particular interest in the low cost female worker. At all events the response of this section of the male labour force focussed upon the realities of competition between women and men and upon the threat to the patriarchal structure of family relations which this represented. Here is the view of an AFL official of the period:

The rapid displacement of men by women in the factory and workshop has to be met sooner or later, and the question is forcing itself upon the leaders and thinkers among the labor organizations of the land. Is it a pleasing indication of progress to see the father, the brother and the son displaced as the bread winner by the mother, sister and daughter? The growing demand for female labor is not founded upon philanthropy, as those who encourage it would have sentimentalists believe; it does not spring from the milk of human kindness. It is an insidious assault upon the home: it is the knife of the assassin, aimed at the family circle - the divine injunction.<sup>(72)</sup>

The AFL at this period began to lay down the institutional basis for the sexually stratified labour force we find today. It is not of course that the labour force had not been segregated on a sexual basis before, but capitalist developments tend to break down the traditional division of labour between the sexes. The response emerging at this period served to constitute the historical segregation on a new basis and the American Federation of Labor played a central historical role in the redesigning of the labour force ensuring the privileged position of white men in the North American labour force. These relations were imported into Canada as the so-called "international" unions came to dominate Canadian union organizations.<sup>(73)</sup> Industries in which both women and men worked, such as the tobacco industry, boot and shoe manufacturing, textiles and clothing, printing and similar industries established or

institutionalized an internal stratification ensuring exclusive male access to the more highly skilled and better paid positions. Keneally reports:

In many trades such as the tobacco industry females were kept unskilled and allowed to learn only a portion of the craft as the union recorded its opposition to their employment. Separate locals and discriminatory wage scales for each sex existed in bookbinding.<sup>(74)</sup>

This stratification of the labour force within those trades and industries organized by crafts union survive in the differing job classifications, which, for example, separate bartenders and chefs from waitresses and cooks. These divisions have their base in the internal division of labour resulting from differentiating tasks requiring specialized capacities from those which "anyone" could do.<sup>(75)</sup> The internal differentiation becomes the basis of a stratified labour force separating a central<sup>(76)</sup> or core<sup>(77)</sup> work-force. This comes about in part as the outcome of union struggles, particularly in the early part of the 20th century.<sup>(78)</sup> The central or core labour force is "insulated", to use Friedman's terms<sup>(79)</sup> from the "reserve army of labour". It has access to the internal labour market of the corporation and hence to possibilities of mobility within the workplace. Pensions and other benefits have been won and seniority in transfers, layoffs and rehiring has been established; working conditions are regulated to some degree. By contrast, the peripheral labour force is defined by categories of dead-end jobs in the corporation and in localized small industries and service businesses with fluctuating labour needs.<sup>(80)</sup> It is not insulated from the reserve army of labour - indeed it is in part constitutive of that reserve. Workers tend to be bottled up in the peripheral labour force by lack of differentiating skills or experience. Rates of turnover, unemployment and underemployment are endemically high.<sup>(81)</sup> Wages are low, benefits lacking or inadequate, working conditions poorly regulated.

Advances for workers according to Friedman have been won through struggle.<sup>(82)</sup> The struggle for a family wage and to reduce the competition of capitalist with man and family for women's labour is the obverse of the struggle to secure stability, good wages, benefits, to control working conditions, on the part of what becomes the "central" section of the labour force. The central section is characterized by union organization whereas the peripheral labour force has been relatively less organized. Struggles which have made gains for the central section of the labour force have also been part of the organization of a racially and sexually segregated labour force. Under Gompers' leadership, the trade union movement in North America became for women a systematic organization of weakness relative to men and a systematic organization of preferential access to skills and benefits for white men. There was little interest in unionizing women other than as a means of control.<sup>(83)</sup> There was fear that bringing numbers



of women into a union would result in "petticoat government".(84) Women's locals were sometimes given only half the voting power of men on the grounds that they could only contribute half the dues.(85) The Canadian Trades and Labour Congress in the early 20th century had as an avowed goal that of eliminating women, particularly married women, from the workforce. The history of the failure of the strike of the Bell Telephone operators in Toronto in 1907 is tied to the absence of serious support or effects on the part of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers to organize the women operators, even though the strikers themselves sought unionization.(86)

Struggles to restrict women's participation and particularly married women's participation in the labour force went on under various guises. It does not seem likely, however, that union efforts alone could have been effective in reconstituting the family in a way that fixed women's dependence on men's wages. At that period, however, the state begins to enact legislation in various ways constitutive of a family in which dependency of women and children, or the conditions become legally enforceable and are progressively incorporated into the administrative policies of welfare agencies, education, health care, etc. There is an implicit alliance forming during this period between the state and the unions representing male working class interest in the subordination of women to the home and their elimination from an all but marginal role in the labour force.

The emergence of national and international market and financial organizations, of an organization of productive process implanted into local areas rather than arising indigenously, conforming to standardized technical plans and standardized machines, tools and other equipment, and of a universalizing of managerial and technical process, called for a new kind of labour force. Similar exigences arose also in relation to the military requirements of imperialist expansion and the devastating wars resulting from the conflict of rival empires. This new labour force had to be capable of entering the industrial process anywhere in the society. The need was not only for technically skilled workers, but more generally for a universalized labour force, stripped of regional and ethnic cultures, fully literate, English-speaking, familiar with factory discipline and the discipline of the machine and, in relation to the military enterprise in particular, physically healthy. In the production of this labour force, mothering as a form of domestic labour was seen as increasingly important. The mother's ancillary role vis-a-vis the school and the school as a means of setting standards for children's health, cleanliness and character has been mentioned before. The liberation of women for work in the home became an objective of the ruling class of this period.(87) Here then we find steps taken to reduce the competition of industry and home for women's labour. Various acts restricting the length of women's working day, night shift work, the physical exertion which could be required of women, were passed.



In these changes we see under a different aspect some of the same developments we have described earlier, in relation to the changing basis of the social organization of the ruling class. It is the period during which in the United States the corporations began to predominate. Various legislative steps and administrative developments re-organized, at least the legal and administrative basis of the family and united the interests of the AFL type of union with those of the section of the ruling class represented by the state. Laws which earlier entitled husband and father to appropriate both his wife's and his children's earnings disappeared. New legislation was passed requiring men to support their wife and children, whether they lived together or not,<sup>(88)</sup> and administrative processes were developed to enforce the law. Laws such as these became the bases of welfare policies both during the depression years and later. They are built into the welfare practices of today, so that a man sharing the house of a women welfare recipient may be assumed to be supporting her and her children, hence permitting the suspension of welfare payments to her.<sup>(89)</sup> Furthermore, the state entry into the socialization of children through the public education system provided an important source of control. Davin has described the early 20th century policies for educating working class girls. They are in line with ruling class interest in a healthy working class and stress the girl's future role as mother.<sup>(90)</sup> As secondary education developed streaming patterns similar to those characterizing the experience of middle class women prevented working class women from acquiring the basic manual and technical skills on which access to skilled and even semi-skilled work in industry came increasingly to depend. Vocational training became almost exclusively a preparation for clerical employment.

The depression years established a clear conjunction between the interests of organized labour and of the state (and of some sections of the ruling class) in as far as possible eliminating married women from the labour force. The state adopted various measures designed to ensure that one wage would provide for two adults and their children (some of the legislation mentioned above was passed during the depression years). The emergence of Unemployment Insurance and Pension Plans created an administrative organization building in the wife's dependency on her husband. In the United States, job creation programmes omitted to create jobs for women.<sup>(91)</sup> The man as wage earner and the woman as dependent became the legally enforceable and administratively constituted relation. In this way the increasing costs of reproducing the new kind of labour force including the costs of women's specialization in domestic labour would be borne by the working man and his wage. As Inman points out:

The law makes it mandatory on the husband to "support" the women in this workshop (the home), and their children. And while the "support" the husband gives his wife must come out of production, and the owners of the means of production are not unaware of her existence, and while they also know

that children must be raised if the supply of labour and soldiers is to remain adequate to their needs, yet the working man who is the support of his family is not secure in this amount.<sup>(92)</sup>

It would be, however, a serious mistake to see these reactions as merely the expression of a patriarchal impulse. Women's domestic labour was of vital and survival value to the family unit. Subsistence was still dependent upon the work of women in a way which it is no longer. The adequacy of shelter, the preparation and cooking of food, including making bread, the making and maintenance of clothing, the management of the wage, are crucial. The availability of a women's unpaid labour was highly consequential to the household standard of living. The physical maintenance of the male breadwinner was an essential feature. When food was short, women and children would go without to ensure that the "master" got enough, or at least the best of what there was. As the family was increasingly integrated into the monetary economy, the role of women was more and more that of managing and organizing the expenditures of the wages. Women became experts in managing<sup>(93)</sup> and experts also in going without themselves.<sup>(94)</sup> It seems likely that at a certain point the requirements of domestic labour began to come into direct competition with work outside the home. A family could manage better if the mother did not go out to work, but was able to devote herself full-time to domestic labour and the production of subsistence. The concentration of the wage earning function in the man also liberated women's domestic labour to maintaining and increasing the family's standard of living. More time spent in the processing of food, more time to give to mending and making clothes, more time to give to cleanliness and maintaining of warmth and shelter resulted in material improvements in the family's standard of living. Where men could not earn enough, women with young children were confronted with the dilemma of whether to go out and earn what little they could so that the children could eat, running the risks that lack of adequate care for the children created, or whether to stay home and give the children adequate care when they could not get enough to eat.<sup>(95)</sup> The improvement over time in men's wages reduced, though it has not eliminated, this dilemma. It is implicit in the situation of working classes because it is always present in the wage relation. As real wages decline, the spread of families in which the wife goes out to work increases. The family is always dependent upon the state of the economy and of the particular industry in which the man works, and upon which his role and livelihood and his family depend.

Characteristic also of the working class family, in which the man is the breadwinner, and the women and children are dependent, is a marked subordination of women to men's needs. Control over funds is a distinct male prerogative. A husband's resistance to his wife's going out to work goes beyond the practicalities of the family's economic well being (Rubin). Working class women learn a discipline which subordinates their lives to the needs and wishes of men. The

man's wage is his. It is not a family wage. Varying customs have developed around the disposal of this. Sometimes there appears to be a survival of the "family wage" tradition whereby the wife takes the whole wage and manages its various uses, including a man's pocket money. But it is also open to men not to tell their wives what they earn and to give them housekeeping money or require them to ask for money for each purchase. It is clearly his money and there is an implicit contract between a husband and wife whereby he provides for her and her children on whatever conditions he thinks best and she provides for him and personal and household services that he demands. The household is organized in relation to his needs and wishes; meal times are when he wants his meals; he eats with the children or alone as he chooses; sex is when he wants it; the children are to be kept quiet when he does not want to hear them. The wife knows at the back of her mind that he can, if he wishes, take his wage earning capacity and make a similar "contract" with another woman. As wages have increased, the breadwinner's spending money has enlarged to include leisure activities which are his, rather than hers - a larger car, a motorcycle, a boat and even the camper often proves more for him than for her, since for her it is simply a transfer from convenient to less convenient conditions of the same domestic labour as she performs at home.

Unemployment of the man has a shattering effect on this type of family. Men's identity as men is built into their role as breadwinner, as spender in relation to other men, as patriarch within the family. The extent to which their masculinity is dependent upon capitalism appears powerfully in the context of unemployment when the claims and entitlements built into the "contract" are undermined. No matter how hard wives may attempt to replicate the forms of the proper relation, over time the situation itself falsifies their efforts and it is apparent to both. In some instances the hostility latent in women's submission in these contexts becomes overt as a repudiation of the man who does not earn a wage:

I did a little field work among the unemployed miners in Pennsylvania. Just observing. What the lack of a job two, three, four, five years did to their families and to them. They hung around street corners and in groups. They gave each other solace. They were loath to go home because they were indicted, as if it were their fault for being unemployed. A jobless man was a lazy good for nothing. The women punished the men for not bringing home the bacon, by withholding themselves sexually. By belittling and emasculating the men, undermining their paternal authority, turning to the eldest son. Making the eldest son the man of the family. These men suffered from the depression. They felt despised, they were ashamed of themselves. They cringed, they comforted one another. They avoided home.(96)



This situation is represented as one which is somehow the product of women's arbitrary ill-will. But as we begin to understand the basis of the patriarchal structure of the working class family in its relation to capital and the founding of masculine identity on the wage and the wage relation imported into the home, we can see that it is not a matter of choice for the unemployed workers' families. Rather the underlying basis of relations has changed. The man is not what he was, his relations are not what they were, because the material determinations outside his control and the control of members of his family are not what they were. Hence his moral claims, his right to authority, based on these material relations, are undermined. He was not what he thought he was. His masculine identity, his authority over his wife and children, his status with other men was always based on relations outside the family and not within his grasp. His masculinity was not really his after all.

How absurd to call the majority of these men the owners of anything when they do not own their jobs in production, and their very bread is the private property of another.(97)

For working class women, this relation has a political dimension. The discipline of acceptance of situations over which they have no control and the discipline of acceptance of the authority of a man who also has in fact no control over the conditions of his wage earning capacity, is not compatible with the bold and aggressive styles of political or economic action necessarily characteristic of working class organization. Women's sphere of work and responsibility is defined as subordinate to that in which men act and it is indeed dependent and subordinate. The children's wellbeing, the production of the home, these require from women a discipline of self-abnegation and service as exacting as that of a religious order and just as taxing emotionally. Masculinity and male status is in part expressed in men's successful separation from the subordination of the sphere of women's activity as well as the visibility of his success in "controlling" his wife (what may go on behind the scenes is another matter). The fact that the wage relation creates an uncertain title to male status and authority by virtue of how its conditions are lodged in the market process and exigencies of capital, make the visible forms of relations all the more important. Men subordinate themselves in the workplace to the authority of the foreman, supervisor and manager. A condition of their authority in the home is this daily acceptance of the authority of others. They assume also the physical risks and hazards of their work. They live with the ways in which capital uses them up physically and discards them mentally and psychologically. They undertake a lifetime discipline also, particularly if they elect to marry and support a wife and children. That responsibility is also a burden and it can be a trap for working class men as much as for working class women. Through that relation a man is locked into his job and into the authority relations it entails. His wife's subordination, her specific personal and visible subservience, her economic dependence, is evidence of his achievement. Her "nagging", her independent initiatives in political or economic contexts, her public challenges to his authority -



these announce his failure as a man.<sup>(98)</sup> In the political context, we find a sub-culture prohibiting women's participation in political activity other than in strictly ancillary roles essentially within the domestic sphere. Thus when women organized militant action in support of the men striking in the Flint, Michigan strike in 1937, they had to go against norms restraining women for overt forms of political action.

Union organization is based upon and enhances the separation and powers created by the wage relation. Obviously and simply the union is an organization of wage-earners. The individualized appropriation of the wage by he or she who earns it is institutionalized in a collective organization of workers attempting to control the wage and the conditions under which it is earned. Wives and families dependent upon the wage have no title to represent their interests. I am not suggesting that these interests are always ignored. I am pointing rather to how collective policy and decision-making of wage earners institutionalizes an individual worker's exclusive right to the wage. A sphere of economic action is created for workers quite separated from the domestic sphere. The interchange between the two is a matter for the individual wage earner. The consequences of union decisions and policies are consequences for wives and families, but they have no voice other than through the individual wage earner. In strike situations, as recently in the Inco strike at Sudbury, women may organize to support within the sphere of domestic activity; or they may, as in an earlier Inco strike, be accessible as individuals to manipulation by management propaganda. Both are aspects of a single underlying relation and both conform to the appropriate boundaries and relations of women's political activity vis a vis men's.

Malmgreen suggests that the 19th century saw a decline in the militancy of working class women associated with the institutionalization of what I have called here the dependent form of the family.

What evidence there is suggests some potential for militant, even violent, political activism among early nineteenth-century working women. Yet the tendency of working class women, particularly if they are married, to exert a conservatizing influence on their men has become a commonplace of modern political science. One purpose of the foregoing discussion has been to suggest that the apolitical quietism of working class women has its origin in the development of male-female economic relations during the industrial revolution. Its preconditions are the exclusion of women from the skilled, organized sectors of the work force; the embracing of middle class norms of "femininity" and family structure; and the rejection by the male-dominated labour movement of some essential features of Utopian social ideology.<sup>(99)</sup>

The Utopian social ideology to which Malmgreen refers was one calling for women's political and economic equality.

Earlier we cited Malmgreen's description of an instance of ruling class fear of the "ferocity" of female operatives (page 49). Lord Ashley clearly identified the subordination of women to men in the home with their political suppression. The ideology of the weak and passive women, needing protection and support and subordinated "naturally" to the authority of men in the home, as it was adopted by working class men and working class political and economic organizations, served to secure the political control of one section of the working class by another. The subordination of working class women to men in the family which was perfected progressively over the latter half of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th, is integral to the attempt of the ruling class to establish a corporate society subordinating workers through their union organization. The range of organized working class action is narrowed progressively to economic organization restricted to the workplace. A whole range of concerns and interests arising outside the workplace in relation to health, housing, pollution, education, remain unexpressed or expressed only indirectly. Localized neighbourhood and community concerns have yet to develop an organized and continuing political voice. Inadvertently working class men combine to suppress and silence those whose work directly engages them with such problems and concerns. Indirectly and through the mechanism described above they come to serve the interests of a ruling class in the political and economic subordination of half the working class.

9. At the outset we confronted the terms "patriarchy" and "class" as key terms in contrasting and opposed accounts of women's inequality in contemporary capitalist society. Resolution of the opposition has been sought in an empirical questioning of family organization as a basis for women's subordination to men. As we have examined the development of a form of the family in which women depend upon men and the ideological and political institutions enforcing it, we can begin to see patriarchy (in the sense of men's political and personal domination over women) in relation to class as part of the institutions through which a ruling class maintains its domination. At different stages in the transformation of property relations from the individual to the corporate form, bourgeois and middle class women have been subordinated to the changing requirement of class organization and of the transgenerational maintenance of class. For working class women we have seen the emergence of a dependent form of family subordinating women to men, locked in by legal and administrative measures instituted by the state and a stratified labour market fostered by trade unions, capitalists and the state. These are the institutional forms which have secured the uses of women's domestic labour in the service of a ruling apparatus, ensuring and organizing the domination of a class over the means of production. They are political institutions in the sense in which the women's movement has come to understand that term, where it refers to the exercise

of power as such whether it is a feature of specialized political institutions such as political parties, government and the like, or not.

Throughout the foregoing analysis we have been aware of capitalism as continually generating changes in material conditions and of these changes as they are fed through to the "surface" necessitating innovations, adaptations, re-organization. Forms of political and ideological organization relatively successful in stabilizing the position of the ruling class at one point may at the next confront situations in which they are no longer effective or appropriate. This today is surely the situation with respect to women. The institutions of patriarchy organize and control in a material context other than that they can handle effectively. The ground has shifted under our feet.

We have pointed to a major contradiction arising for both middle class and working class women as capitalism advances. It is the contradiction between a developing and essential indifference of capital to the sex of those who do its work, and the claims of domestic economy as an essential basis for its property relations and the reproduction of class and the labour force. With the rise of corporate capitalism the balance begins to shift away from the domestic. In relation to middle class women, the extension of corporate capitalism, the professions, governmental process - the elaboration of the ruling apparatus characteristic of contemporary capitalism, requires skills based on education and specialized advanced training which are not differentiated by sex. Women's exclusion becomes then a political institution built into the organization of education, into the uses of power characteristic of the self-governing process of professions and professional organizations, and the conjunction of the interests of a ruling class and its male members. Earlier the contradiction emerges as a latent and sometimes actual competition between the domestic and the political economies for women's labour - a competition resolved for some time by restricting women's access to the labour force after marriage and in general to a limited range of occupations with an earning capacity below that enabling them to maintain a family unit without a husband. The political aspects of women's subordination are the institutions of patriarchy. But they could not have been effective without a corresponding material base.

Earlier women's domestic labour was essential to subsistence. It had no substitutes. It has also been essential to advances in the family standard of living which would have been originally unobtainable without the interposition of women's work in the home. Women of both the middle class and working classes at different income levels could by their personal skills, their hard work and commitment take the wage and salary, purchase materials and tools and combine these with labour and skill - their knowledge of cooking, cleaning, managing, laundering, shopping, etc. - to produce a



subsistence level or better essential for family health, comfort and under minimal income conditions, for survival. In bourgeois and middle class households the production of the "coded" settings expressing class status also depended upon women's skills and labour, although until the first decade or so of the 20th century much of that labour would have been that of hired domestic servants.

Over time the labour women contributed to the domestic production of subsistence was displaced by labour and skill embodied in the product of industry. Progressively capital has interposed a labour process embodied in the commodity into the home and has reorganized the work process there as it has reorganized so much in every part. At some point what women can contribute in the form of labour no longer balances off in a comparison with what she can earn and hence add to the purchasing power of the family. The wife can no longer reduce costs to the wage earner by contributing more of her labour to the household process. This moment is not single nor simple since it is also related to income levels and the standard of living at which the family aims. Nonetheless the basic process is one which increases the significance of a monetary contribution and depresses the significance of skilled labour. Additional money comes to be the primary if not the only means of improving the family's standard of living or of avoiding economic hardship. The exigencies of care of small children comes to be the chief claim reserving women from labour force participation.

Along with the transfer of labour and skill in the production of subsistence from housewife to product, the market process provides increasingly for the daily needs of individuals. Many functions earlier belonging to the home have been socialized in various ways - cleaning clothes, cooking and feeding, care of the sick, of the old and handicapped, amusement, social life, etc. have become commercial or state services. For men the assumption of the "burden" of a family no longer so clearly provides a standard of well being and comfort which would otherwise be unobtainable.

For middle class women the importance of their local work in the maintenance of class relations has declined. The rise of suburbia first transferred some elements of the formation of the extra-local forms of class to the selective processes of the real estate market and the organization of stylistic and price enclaves as neighbourhoods of similar kinds of people. The further growth and detachment from the local of the ruling apparatus accords for men increasing importance to linkages based on their business or professional associates. There is at first a characteristic split between the zones of social activity of men and women. Men's is increasingly articulated to their work and women's increasingly in relation to their work and responsibilities in the suburban territory of childcare and the eight-to-six working week world of women at home. This split becomes visible in social settings in the conversational separation of men from women. The evolution of the ruling apparatus as an



elaborately interlaced network of the state, managerial, financial and professional division of the work of ruling is more and more divorced from specific local places and individuals rooted as such in neighbourhood and community. This evolution dissolves the significance of family and family-formed transgenerational linkages for the ruling class because its significance for the organization of ruling has diminished.

The slow but consistent upward creep of the labour force participation of married women, and indeed of women in general, points to the diminishing power of the domestic economy to compete with paid employment for women. The demand for certain types of women's labour increased greatly as corporate capitalism called for clerical, sales and service workers at low cost, a demand which has more and more been met by women. The "compact" restricting the employment of married women and hence the direct competition of paid employment with the domestic economy controlled by the husband has been weakened and is in decline. The assertion of individual authority by a man in restraining his wife from taking on paid employment outside the home is weakened by the disappearance of complementary restrictions in the work setting. With inflation and increasing levels of unemployment more and more married women enter the labour force. Money earnings are essential to the family and if the man's wage or salary does not bring in enough then women's responsibilities to her home and family are increasingly calling for her to seek employment outside the home.

The same developments within capitalism which elaborate the apparatus of ruling are also those which result in the ever increasing problem of the surplus labour population. Rates of unemployment have been slowly and steadily increasing and in the current period of economic crisis they have risen sharply. For the first time the concentration of capital in a machine technology has begun to create a surplus labour population among the middle class. The state, management and professional organizations respond to these problems by a resort to the measures which worked earlier and, on the part of professions, by the adoption of protectionist strategies reinforcing discriminatory practices against women (and in the U.S. in particular on racial bases also). The state attempts to reduce unemployment and reduce state responsibility for unemployment by using the well-worn mechanisms for forcing women into dependence upon men through its welfare policies, unemployment insurance practices, the withdrawal of subsidies for childcare, etc. But these measures now function vacuously. The relation of dependency is no longer fully viable. The status quo ante cannot be reinstated. The measures rather than having practical force in articulation to a material base become merely the arbitrary exercise of political power.

The earlier political and ideological accommodations institutionalized in the labour market and the educational system come to function so as to depress arbitrarily women's capacity to earn a

living, to survive, to provide for children. Of course there are segments of both middle class and working class where earlier relations are successful because the underlying relations have not disappeared. Contemporary capitalism is a complex form and Canadian political economy characteristically develops unevenly and via transitions which are often abrupt as new levels of capitalist organization invade and overlay earlier forms. At the same time the dislocations and the arbitrary oppression of the patriarchal forms begin to emerge. Among middle class women and sections of the organized working class, the women's movement advances an ideology and establishes political and economic organization through which the latent inequities are given objective expression and become the focus of organized action.

Among the most serious effects of patriarchal institutions are those reducing women's capacity to compete on the labour market. The organization and perpetuation of a stratified labour force has vested powers and privileges in men which give them an advantage in the context of the sharpening competition for employment as well as for positions of power and opportunity in the ruling apparatus. In particular the educational system as a whole including both schools and post-secondary institutions of all kinds, is effectively sealed off from initiatives seeking to modify the processes by which it has systematically served to disqualify women at every level of the occupational structure from access to more highly skilled, more advanced and better paid employment. Government attempts to modify women's access to skilled trades has been restrained by business and organized labour and by their own unwillingness to adopt policies which would exacerbate problems of unemployment. An educational process which ensures that women will not acquire the foundation skills for blue collar work serves to create a major "depressed area" in Canadian society. It is not territorially defined, but it appears in the government statistics as the high proportions of women on welfare; in the uses by high school girls of pregnancy as a means of independence through child care payments; in the increased numbers of single parents; in the increases in prostitution; in the increased availability of working class women for jobs such as office cleaning, textile manufacture, waitressing, where rates of pay are kept down by the vast reserve army waiting in the wings. It appears also in the increases in violence of parents against children and of husbands against wives, as children and wives with children become a trap.

What in the women's movement we have learned to make visible as patriarchy is an integral part of the institutional process by which a ruling class has maintained its domination over the society. It has taken different forms in relation to women in the middle classes and in the working class. The differences in class are real. They are the bases of differing formations of interest among women struggling against oppression, but the enemy is the same.

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XI

WORKING WOMEN AND THE STATE: THE CASE OF CANADA, 1885-1945

Veronica Strong-Boag





Until recently women have figured only marginally at best in historians' accounts of Canada. In particular their participation in waged employment has gone almost without comment. In as much as any tradition whatsoever with respect to the experience of female wage-earners can be ascertained it is generally of two types: (1) which be labelled 'liberal-progressive',<sup>1</sup> and (2) which may be identified as generally 'left' in orientation.<sup>2</sup> The first, following the lead of early 20th century reformers would distinguish between professional employments such as teaching which could be viewed as an index of a society's advance toward greater democracy and industrial jobs such as those in textile production which were condemned as especially exploitative and damaging to female physiology. Such admiration or condemnation, often implicit rather than explicit, is also rarely of any length, subordinated as they are to discussions of political and macro-economic issues in which women rarely figure. These accounts give more prominence to the vote than any question related to employment. More left-wing commentators devote similarly little space to women's waged labour. Not surprisingly, they not only share the criticism of industrial work for females but integrate this perspective into a wider analysis of class relationships in a capitalist society. That critique does not, however, include any

significant commentary on the unique aspects of female labour force participation. Both traditions, if they may be so called given the variety of their appearance, implicitly assume women's labour to be pre-eminently and, for the most part, preferably located on a non-waged basis in the single family home. As a result even the superficial acknowledgement of the role played by female waged workers in Canada's history has been characterized by extreme ambivalence.

Such ambivalence also colours the liberal-progressive and left wing analysis of the role of the state with respect to female wage-earners. The liberal-progressives generally accept the expansion of state power as a positive good in advancing the cause of human equality. In this analysis the state emerges as a somewhat neutral, indeed inherently beneficent, authority whose place it is to intercede for the common good between conflicting social forces. The assumption, again usually only implicit, is that the state ought to intervene to defend women as the weaker sex from the full impact of marketplace pressures. When intervention is late or non-existent, governments are condemned. The more radical perspective is inevitably rather less optimistic regarding the existence of impartial state power. It is after all the expression of a dominant class. There is, however, at the same time some agreement--essentially paternalistic in nature

--with the liberal-progressives that governments ought to have protected female wage earners in particular from the most brutal expression of industrial relations. Finally, however, both such interpretations flounder for want of real interest or investigation on the part of historians of any persuasion. The result for the student of Canadian history is finally, I believe, a necessarily vague, indeed indefinable, sense that (1) work for women is unusual, (2) that it is in most cases a bad thing and (3) that the state has in large measure been women's real or potential ally in their struggle for greater economic equality.

With few exceptions these liberal-progressive and more radical approaches constitute the written history of Canada's female workers. Relatively recently, however, a new generation of historians, inspired frequently by feminist sympathies and the perspective of the new social history with its concern to recover the experience of the largely anonymous and forgotten majority of citizens, has turned to a much more detailed exploration of female work patterns.<sup>3</sup> These researchers are now covering the breadth of Canadian history from the period of New France right up to the present. The returns from their work are as yet fragmentary and many specific topics remain untouched. Nevertheless, the first reports differ from the more familiar approaches in a number of critical ways. Most significantly,

women's experience is no longer marginal to the account. It is now of central importance. Furthermore, the liberal-progressive view is much less marked, although it remains a strong undercurrent in much work. Generally speaking today's researchers are much less optimistic in their assessment of the entry of women into professions for example. Teaching and medicine are good examples of so-called 'advances' for women which are now being reconsidered. Poorer salaries, conditions and mobility relative to male candidates are all common-place observations. This shifting assessment complements rising scepticism about the significance of women's enfranchisement. In contrast, recent accounts tend to confirm earlier indictments of non-professional waged labour, especially that in industrial employments. Even here, however, there is a change with the marked attention to such workers as active, if finally relatively powerless, players rather than merely passive prisoners of marketplace forces. This latter development reflects the strengthening left wing and feminist perspective on female employment patterns. In addition, in a majority of investigations women's predicament is more and more appraised as a function, in part at least, of class relationships in a capitalist economy. More than before, however, the shortcoming of the union movement and the paternalistic orientation of much



working-class culture are acknowledged as major obstacles to equality. Now too awareness of the limitations of state action is much more evident. Governments' role in the maintenance of female inferiority in the labour market--indeed within state bureaucracies themselves--is being convincingly demonstrated. No longer are the forces which hold working women in thrall anonymous. The precise nature by which the state affirms female inferiority through recruitment into, education for and protection from the workplace is at long last coming into clear focus. Not all ambivalence has, however, disappeared in the new accounts. There are still traces of the assumption that if state authorities had been more active women's situation in the workforce would have improved. This faith conflicts of course with convincing evidence regarding the dedication of federal and provincial governments to the preservation of the nuclear family. This dedication overrode all concern for women themselves.

As a provocative article by Mary McIntosh has pointed out at length the capitalist state's support for "a specific form of household: the family household dependent largely upon a male wage and upon female domestic servicing."<sup>4</sup> is integral to women's subordination to men both within and without the marketplace. The last part of this paper draws upon recent studies in Canadian women's history together with the author's own research to suggest how state policies with

respect to labour recruitment, education and protective legislation, particularly in the period from 1889 to 1945, specifically illustrate McIntosh's argument. In each case governments subordinated women's independence to a view of the family in which the male wage-earner was dominant and the female supplied the domestic labour which was critical to the preservation and continuation of the private household as a producer of new recruits for the capitalist economy.

The efforts of successive Canadian governments, under the influence of middle-class householders and unable or unwilling to imagine a more fitting and safer setting for female energies, to recruit women from abroad and at home into domestic service constitute the most persistent example of the subordination of specifically individual interest to the requirements of the nuclear family. The second clear-cut illustration of this phenomenon with respect to recruitment shows up in studies of federal policies during World War Two. Here government recruitment campaigns aimed at substituting abundant women for scarce men in non-combattant military positions and civilian war work were continually interpreted and redesigned in terms of their eventual impact on Canadian family life.

As a number of historians are now demonstrating, domestic recruitment provides an especially blatant example of state priorities respecting women.<sup>5</sup> While governments

were customarily slow in taking responsibility for allocating job seekers to most employments, such reticence was much less evident with regard to the female servant class. As Susannah Moodie early in the 19th century made abundantly clear, middle-class aspirations, at least before World War Two, were much better maintained on the sturdy foundation of cheap female assistance in the home.<sup>6</sup> Later on various administrations, eager to promote the family farm, especially on the Canadian prairies at the beginning of the 20th century, found still further justification for an extensive network of domestic recruitment agents in Great Britain and Europe. Support for the immigration of child paupers was justified in a similar way.<sup>7</sup> The attraction for these job seekers was the possibility, frequently illusionary, of higher wages and better work prospects in the New World. Desertion of menial and subordinate employments and the search for others began soon after arrival. For many women the ultimate goal was a good and prosperous husband with a common commitment to improving the family's lot. This ambition was generally viewed as acceptable, indeed desirable, by government planners eager to increase the population, if less so by middle-class mistresses jealous of their staff. Advocates of this type of immigrant frequently argued that servants would learn through work in respectable

homes the skills and information they could later employ, presumably on a reduced scale, in the service of their own families. The operating premise was of a constant pool of young female job seekers who would replenish losses due to marriage. Until the time of their own marriage it was fondly hoped that girls would find the moral and physical protection in private homes that it was believed was largely absent in other kinds of industrial and commercial employments. Incidentally of course women's special responsibility for domestic maintenance would be yet again affirmed.

Another category of domestic workers was also directly encouraged by state intervention. Rarely live-in servants these were so-called 'day workers' or charwomen. They were <sup>for</sup> the most part wives and mothers trying to juggle family responsibilities with waged labour outside the home often for a number of different customers. The Employment Service of Canada initiated in 1918 with federal-provincial cooperation, like many of its earlier municipal and private counterparts, effectively served its female clientele, many of whom were older women, as a domestic placement agency. Such guidance suited middle-class householders and government officials but it repudiated the trend to wider participation of the female workforce which the First Great War had in a minor way encouraged. Instead the directives of the ESC answered the fears of those who wanted good jobs saved for Canada's veterans and the nation's homes preserved for patriarchal values.



State efforts to recruit wage-earning women were constrained similarly during the Great Depression. Fears of depriving the main bread-winner of job opportunities or of giving some families the 'unfair' advantage of two wage-earners in 'good' jobs, together with a spectacular lack of imagination by thrifty planners, led finally to solutions aimed again at shunting 'excess' female workers into domestic service. Work camps for single males and private homes for their female counterparts were ultimately designed to counter critical threats to the industrial capitalist system: undisciplined males and homeless females. Women were effectively coerced by necessity and state power into seeking protection within a family, albeit someone else's.

There Canada's female workers were expected to rest or rather labour, in varying degrees of comfort, until a national crisis necessitated their transformation from a reserve into an immediate army of labour. World War Two saw government planners make elaborate provision to draw previously 'redundant' females into new varieties of waged employment.<sup>8</sup> Here state officials had to combat assumptions which they and their predecessors had previously fostered: in particular the idea that involvement in industrial, military and non-traditional tasks of all kinds posed a serious threat to respectable and attractive femininity. State agencies responded with a massive publicity campaign

which celebrated the femininity and, in effect, morality of women serving their country as radar technicians, aircraft engineers, bomb assemblers and the like. More practically, a limited but significant effort was made to establish day care facilities for the workers' young children. The needs of a country at war were cited as justification for this radical shift in state policy. But even before WWII had ended state bureaucrats were eagerly planning to shift women's eyes again from the paywicket to the home fires which must be properly laid for Canada's male veterans of battle, field and factory. A careful policy of disincentives such as closure of state day care facilities relentlessly returned women to the home. The urgency of state discouragement in 1944-45 was fueled by fears of a postwar recession modelled on that which followed World War One. Talk of women's right to a wider variety of well-paying jobs vanished as suddenly as it had appeared. The fact that civil servants suffered along side employees of private enterprise indicates how very far from being an equal opportunity employer the Canadian state was.

State involvement in education is another area where systematic discrimination in favour of the female domestic worker, both waged and unwaged, occurred. In the first place the subtle and not-so-subtle directives of school texts operated to reduce every schoolgirl's horizons: ideal men

were heroic, women maternal. Should a female student reject such disincentives she soon encountered programmes financed by public money which routinely discriminated against her candidature for so-called male employment reserves. The reluctant admission of girls in 19th century Canada to the latin classes which were a prerequisite for a professional career until very recently was typical.<sup>9</sup> As was the provision for boys but not for girls in government sponsored apprenticeship programmes after the First World War.

The most blatant example of discrimination in education now being detailed by historians was the introduction of separate programmes in domestic science for girls and manual training for boys by the end of the 19th century. Lessons in cooking, laundry, sewing and childcare spent scarce education dollars while they directed girls' energies to a very specific and finally subordinate place in the national as well as the domestic economy.<sup>10</sup> The fact that financing for household economics from the elementary through to the university level was hailed and in some quarters decried as a progressive, indeed feminist, achievement suggests how deeply ingrained inequality in education for boys and girls was.

The other major innovation for girl students reflected similar attitudes. The introduction of training in secretarial skills, culminating in a degree programme

in secretarial science at the University of Western Ontario in 1926 was consciously and carefully designed to direct females to employment vacancies which were suitable and, not incidentally, usually subordinate to male bosses. The fact that this educational provision occurred at a time when white collar clerical employments, in banks for example, were rapidly declining in status and losing their traditional masculine makeup in personnel, helped camouflage the continuation of female inferiority in employment. Clean hands (except those perhaps dirtied by a typewriter ribbon or figures in a ledger) did not, as those who supervised female civil servants could have told you, mean equal opportunity for advancement and challenge with male rivals.<sup>11</sup>

The history of public education in Canada regularly evidences discrimination against female students. Classes in domestic and secretarial science like formal or informal exclusion from alternate male-oriented programmes supplemented more explicit state recruitment of domestic servants while offering the prospect of better, if still female-typed, jobs to the more talented and more fortunate of job-hunters. The same function was served by government assistance to teaching and, more rarely, nursing programmes. No equivalent sums were available to expand the job opportunities available to girls. Their cheap labour



was an essential component of the evolving state and corporate bureaucracies of the 20th century. The result, as one 1920 study of Toronto school-leavers makes clear, left many girls with limited and indeed not surprisingly more readily attainable employment ambitions than their brothers.<sup>12</sup> Over the short term this brought economic reward but within a few short years boys with comparable years of schooling were reporting substantially better wages. Such easily discernible differences in reward no doubt helped female wage-earners look for domestic rather than occupational satisfaction and achievement.<sup>13</sup>

A third area in which state policy in Canada's past has been regularly characterized by support for the patriarchal nuclear family is protective legislation. The liberal-progressive and left traditions in Canadian historical writing were, as has been noted, generally favourable to this form of intervention. Laws providing for limited hours and minimum wages for women, like those barring women from certain types of employment such as underground mining, were however, for all the benefits they might have offered individual women, rooted in assumptions of female inferiority. The world of wage-earning was widely conceived as intrinsically foreign to females who remained unnatural interlopers for whom special, essentially humanitarian, provision had to be made. A fundamental refusal to come to terms with the legitimacy of working women's real and potential maternity coloured

most legislation and fed bureaucratic preference for the departmentalization of the worlds of work and family. Thus special legislative provision for women with its underlying assumption of female unsuitability for waged labour went hand in hand with widespread agreement that men should not allow familial concerns to intrude into the workplace, as for example with daycare.

Canada's first laws for working women excluded them from mining underground in Nova Scotia and in the 1880s established minimum wage and maximum hour restrictions in Quebec and Ontario in certain industrial occupations. Women, either as workers or as informed observers, had little influence in establishing these initiatives.<sup>14</sup> Humanitarian sentiments joined with anxiety about the potential threat to female morality and maternity, concern about the bad press being received by private industry, fear that female competitors might drive down male wages and politicians' hopes to win the working class vote to prompt state action. There was little, if any, thought of confirming an industrial role for working women. As the 1889 Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations between Capital and Labour makes clear women's presence was acknowledged, reluctantly, as an unfortunate corollary of industrial expansion.<sup>15</sup>

The same kind of ambivalence characterized the expansion of protective legislation into the 20th century. Any growth in women's economic roles was, except in instances of

national emergency, a development which won little enthusiasm. Prominent too was the worry lest 'excessive' state action make the labour market too attractive for female recruits--as with the passage of laws relating to maternity leave and equal wages for equal work proposed by the League of Nations after World War One. None of this often admirable legislation came into force in any Canadian province, although British Columbia in fact placed such legislation on its books. That government announced itself willing to implement these laws if other jurisdictions did likewise so as not to place the Pacific province at a competitive disadvantage. None did so.

Labour legislation regarding women was deficient in a number of ways at the point of origin. Domestic servants, farm labourers and bank employees, the latter under federal jurisdiction while protective laws were in the provincial realm, were routinely excluded from consideration. While bank workers, much to the pleasure of the Canadian Bankers' Association, were a special case, state intervention on the part of the first two groups was specifically avoided on all occasions because of its possible impact on the operations of the nuclear family and, especially in the case of farm labourers, because of the powerful farm lobby. Female white collar and professional workers were regularly excluded as were men in these areas, not only because of antagonistic lobbyists, but because their situation was not believed to be especially difficult and because the majority were assumed to have alternatives other



than workplace. Particularly insidious was the notion of 'pin money' which tended to inform any discussion of female clerks, teachers and librarians. The fact that most female wage-earners depended, as often did their families, on their income for sustenance itself was routinely ignored. One typical result was either the exclusion or the demotion of married women civil servants after the First Great War. As ever women's problems, economic or otherwise, were not Ottawa's major concern.

The shortcomings of the 'protective' impulse itself were and are numerous but just as imperfect were the attempts at implementation. Factory inspectors across the country documented the near impossibility of enforcing legislation which seemed riddled with loopholes and for which they had inadequate amounts of time, money and staff to superintend.<sup>16</sup> Working women had little cause to thank governments for assistance; indeed there is evidence that many had never even heard of what limited protection they were supposedly guaranteed.<sup>17</sup>

The 20th century legislation which was the most marked feminist achievement, other than the vote, was mothers' allowances.<sup>18</sup> While this was not labour legislation in the strict sense of the term, it was conceived as a way of influencing the labour market participation of a certain



category of women: the mothers of dependent children whose husbands were dead and, in some cases, otherwise incapacitated from earning a regular income. State allowances were designed to enable these sole support mothers to stay home and care for their children. Without the maternal presence such disadvantaged families were believed to pose a substantial threat to social peace and morality. In fact, ironically enough, allowances were rarely sufficient to permit a woman's complete withdrawal from the paid workforce. Too many officials feared that generosity on their part would undermine family self-sufficiency and motivation permanently. In effect, like the husband's wage in many families, allowances subsidized part-time labour. Thus even the wages of married women who lacked male support were tied to the notion of wage-earning that was supplemental not essential to family survival. Not surprisingly, many of these first clients of the welfare state were charwomen and domestic workers. The maturation of the children and the withdrawal of government aid left most applicants equipped to pursue only the most poorly paid and menial jobs in the economy. In this way state wages for mothers, while offering some immediate succour to the desperate, helped confirm women's over-riding responsibility for the survival of the domestic institution.

This brief review of state practices with respect to job recruitment, education and protective legislation

indicates the close linkage that historians are beginning to document between notions of ideal family structures and state policies affecting female wage earners. In every case women's rights as individuals were sacrificed in order to preserve an idealized patriarchal family. Authorities were rarely reluctant to admit this bias; indeed many found it a matter of some pride. The survival of this type of domestic institution was critical to their conception of Canada. In this faith they were joined by a majority of the articulate public in Canada, including most feminists until at least 1945.<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, these policies together with their implications have been largely ignored by modern commentators too often obsessed with the notion of an impartial state bureaucracy. In fact, a closer look at the state and wage earning women suggests that the former has worked very comfortably with other institutions in society in confining women to a narrow sphere of endeavour.

What are the policy implications of these conclusions? They are, I believe, quite straight-forward. First they suggest that fresh government initiatives should be scrutinized in much the same way as 'Greeks bearing gifts'. Secondly, we need to examine especially closely policies which seem to promise obvious immediate benefits, as with mothers' allowances for example, for their long term repercussions. Finally, these first investigations suggest that only a more precise understanding of the mechanisms by which women's inferior

place in the workforce was and is secured can combat the modern successors of the policies described in this paper. Historians have much work to do.

- 1 See, for example, P.B. Waite, Canada 1874-1896 (Toronto & Montreal: 1971)
- 2 See, for example, Charles Upton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada (Montreal: 1967).
- 3 See, for example, Joan Sangster, "The 1907 Bell Telephone Strike: Organizing Working Women", Labour/Le Travailleur (henceforth L/LT), 1978; Marie Lavigne and Jennifer Stoddart, "Les travailleuses Montréalaises entre les deux guerres", LT, 1977; V. Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s", LT, 1979; and Michelle Lapointe, "Le syndicat catholique des allumetières de Hull, 1919-1924", Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, mars 1979. For a more complete listing see Beth Light and Veronica Strong-Boag, True Daughters of the North. Canadian Women's History. An Annotated Bibliography (Toronto: 1980).
- 4 Mary McIntosh, "The State and the Oppression of Women", in Feminism and Materialism, ed. Annette Kulm and AnnMarie Wolpe (London: 1978), p. 255.
- 5 See, for example, W.B. Turner, "80 Stout and Healthy Looking Girls", Canada. An Historical Magazine, Dec. 1975; Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day"; Stoddart and Strong-Boag, "...And Things Were Going Wrong at Home", Atlantis Fall 1975; and G. Leslie, "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920", in Women at Work. Ontario 1850-1930 (Toronto: 1974).
- 6 S. Moodie, Roughing It in the Bush (Toronto: 1962): passim.  
See
- 7 /Joy Parr, Labouring Children (London: 1980)
- 8 See Ruth Roach Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Canadian Labour Force in World War II", in The Neglected Majority, ed. S.M. Trofimenkoff and A. Prentice (Toronto: 1977).
- 9 See Marion Royce, "Arguments Over the Education of Girls-- Their Admission to Grammar Schools in this Province", Ontario History, March 1975.
- 10 See Lucien Lemieux, "La fondation de l'école ménagère St. Pascal, 1905-1909", RHAF, May 1972 and R. Stamp, "Teaching Girls Their 'God Given Place in Life': the Introduction of Home Economics in the Schools", Atlantis, Spring 1977.
- 11 See Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day".
- 12 E.A. Bott, "Studies in Industrial Psychology. II. Juvenile Employment in Relation to Public Schools and Industries in Toronto", University of Toronto Studies, Psychological Series, 1920.



- 13 For a provocative discussion regarding female attitudes to home and work see Patricia Branca, "A New Perspective on Women's Work: A Comparative Typology", Journal of Social History, 1975.
- 14 See S.M. Trofimenkoff, "One Hundred and One Muffled Voices: Canada's Industrial Women in the 1880s", Atlantis, Fall 1977.
- 15 See the testimony in G. Kealey, ed., Canada Investigates Industrialism (Toronto: 1973).
- 16 See T. Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty (Toronto: 1974) and Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day".
- 17 See, for example, the comments of the female factory hand before the Royal Commission on Price Spreads in 1935 cited in Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day", p. 163.
- 18 Strong-Boag, "'Wages for Housework': Mothers' Allowances and the Beginnings of Social Security in Canada", Journal of Canadian Studies, Spring 1979.



XII

GENESEA: A NONSEXIST SOCIETY?

Ruth Rose-Lizée





## GENESEA: A NONSEXIST SOCIETY?

Readers have, of course, heard of Genesea, a small country of 101 million people, just about half the size of Yugoslavia in terms of both population and territory, nestled on the Adriatic Sea between Yugoslavia and Italy. Readers have also often heard of Genesea as an example of a democratic, socialist society, an example to be imitated. In particular, Genesea is often cited as a nonsexist society, a country in which women are on an equal footing with men.

I first visited Genesea on a vacation trip in 1977. Casual conversations with people I met on the beaches as well as a few professional contacts I made at the University of Genesea in Tarkma, the capital city, gave me the idea of doing an ethnological study of Genesean society during my sabbatical year in 1980-81. This article represents my first publication from this study, a study which is not yet completed and which I hope to publish eventually in book form.

In this article, I use a technique first introduced by Oscar Lewis in his studies of rural and urban Mexico in rapid transition: detailed description of life in a typical family. I first met Kramla, female half of the Kramla-Jorinth family, in 1977 on my original visit in her capacity as an Employment Planner in the Ministry of Employment. When I returned she and her family were very helpful in explaining Genesean political and economic policies to me and in showing me around in general. Hers was one of three families I undertook to study in depth. I have chosen it here as the subject of my first article, partly because Kramla was so articulate in explaining the general Genesean concepts and policies but also because their family life vividly illustrates how Geneseans have

attempted to put men and women on an equal economic footing by a policy of general economic equality and by socializing large areas of housework and childraising while still maintaining the personal individualism and freedom of choice which we Westerners consider so important. To North Americans the density of housing and or urban life in general, the amount of time spent in collective activities and the lack of many personal possessions may seem very unappealing. In fact, the Genesean life style is not so very different from that of most European countries, many of which are far more densely populated than Genesea and whose living standards are not very different.

This paper should also be taken as an experiment in the relatively new area of economic anthropology. Especially in this first article where space limitations force me to be selective, I have concentrated on the economic aspects of the daily life of a Genesean family as opposed to the social and psychological aspects.

The Genesean economy has retained very little private capitalism. All large enterprise--defined as a firm with 1000 or more employees--is government-owned and another 25% of small and medium-sized businesses are operated on a cooperative basis. In addition, the union names at least one member of the Board of Administration in all firms with over 20 employees.

When I was in Genesea, the social-democratic Labour Party was in power although they have since been replaced by the Revolutionary Socialist Party. There is also a smaller Christian Democratic Party, with a free-enterprise platform, but which hasn't held power since 1940 when it was ousted by the invading Italians. After World War II there was

an armed struggle for power won by the Revolutionary Socialist Party which had been the main force in the underground resistance to the Fascists and had the support of the people. Somehow they managed to escape domination by both East and West and after four years they re-established parliamentary democracy.

Many of the more radical reforms which shape present-day Genesean society date from the 1950's but it should be understood that a basis had already been laid in the prewar period by the Labour Party which held power from 1923 to 1937. It was during this period that the already militant trade union movement was consolidated and the first enterprises--railroads and steel--were nationalized. It was the presence of a strong trade union movement that made possible the extension of the postwar reforms on a democratic, grass-roots basis rather than the imposition from above by a bureaucratic machine.

There is a single national union, the Confederation of Genesean Workers and negotiations take place on a rather centralized basis although some questions are left to the local level. Although the Confederation and its local units have exclusive bargaining rights, it is not a monolithic organization. Paralleling the political parties there are three main, and several minor, factions, the main ones being the Revolutionary Socialists, the Labourites and the Catholics.

Some readers may raise question as to whether the Kramla-Jorinth family described here is really typical of Genesean families. Of course, no family is "typical" but 54% of Genesean adults live in nuclear families and the figure rises to 81% of those raising children.\*

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\* I studied two other families, reflecting other aspects of Genesean society. The first consisted of an unmarried woman raising two young children and the second was a communal group consisting of two couples, one unmarried--or rather unattached--women, three unattached men and six children.

Readers may also find both Kramla and Jorinth unusually articulate, educated, and well-travelled. In fact, Kramla is what we would call an intellectual and is considerably more knowledgeable about both Genesean and foreign societies than most people I met. She holds a *Licencia*--equivalent to a Bachelor's degree--in economics and sociology and has done some graduate work. However, the average educational level in Genesea is 13.6 years, virtually everybody finishes high school and does some university courses. Furthermore, the level of political involvement and political information is very high as it permeates all areas of working and residential life. Almost everybody has travelled abroad, both because Genesea is a small country and because travel is an integral part of secondary school and university curricula.

I actually lived a month in the home of the Kramla-Jorinth family accompanying each of the members in their daily activities on at least three separate days and doing in-depth interviews. In this article I have condensed the description down to a single day in order to stay within the confines of a journal article and to make the reading more interesting. In doing so, I have taken some liberties with the time perspective but all the events and conversations are real and I have tried to reproduce them faithfully without comment, doing only what editing is necessary to make the sequence of events coherent.

The Genesean language is basically a Romance language, very similar to Italian, with some Slavic words and expressions. As an anthropologist, my specialty is Romance languages and I became quite fluent in Genesean by the third month of my stay. Kramla speaks English, having lived in England for a year, and both she and Jorinth speak Italian. They helped



me out with technical terms and colloquial expressions when necessary. Dialogues and interviews were, of course, tape-recorded and transcribed later.

I added a question mark to my title "Genesea: A Nonsexist Society?". For you to judge.

### A Day in the Life of the Kramla-Jorinths

Kramla is 34, dark, vivacious, 1.62 m. tall. Jorinth is 32, blondish, 1.77 m. in height and somewhat more reserved. They have been married and living in the Sunrise Complex for nearly seven years, ever since Kramla became pregnant with their first child, Turni. When Tonith was born four years ago, they moved into their present four-bedroom apartment. Before marrying they had lived together for two years in one of the city's older, non-cooperative houses.

I call the family the Kramla-Jorinths because Geneseans have done away with last names. Back in the 1950's, when women first began to insist on keeping their own names after marriage and passing them on to their children, the Geneseans decided it would be easier to do away with last names altogether. Actually, children are known by their parents names. Turni's full name is Turni bey Jorinth ytt Kramla,\* taking his father's name first since he's a boy and Tonith is called Tonith bey Kramla ytt Jorinth because she's a girl. Actually Kramla and Jorinth have a third child, a nine-year-old by the name of Loolon bey Torona ytt Kramla which illustrates an interesting point.

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\*In Genesean, "bey" means "child of" and "ytt" means simply "and."

Without last names, one may think it difficult to trace lineage. This problem is solved in the official registry books by including the patro- and matronymics of the parents. Thus Tonith is inscribed as Tonith bey Kramla bey Parta-Lornido ytt Jorinth bey Turni-Madona, thus indicating the names of all his grandparents.

The Kramla-Jorinths live in the Sunrise Complex on the West side of Tarkma. Kramla and Jorinth each have their own room each with a double bed. Separate rooms are considered an important aspect of privacy and independence in married life. Loolon has her own bedroom and the two younger children, Turni and Tonith, share the largest master bedroom. Kramla's room reflects her intellectual interests, complete with bookshelves, a desk, typewriter, filing cabinets and a sewing corner. Jorinth's room is devoted to sailing and trains: pictures, books, and scale models. During my stay, Kramla very kindly lent me her room and moved in with Jorinth, which was convenient for me as I could use her desk and typewriter as I needed. In addition to four bedrooms, the apartment contains two bathrooms, a large family room with a kitchenette and a fairly large storage room crammed with various kinds of sporting equipment.

The apartment is one of 12 in the Bellazzi House--named after a WWII Resistance hero--and the Bellazzi House is one of 10 in the Sunrise Complex. This particular Complex is reserved exclusively for families with children because it offers a daycare center, a supplementary babysitting service, two recreation rooms for children and a playground, all of which require a minimum number of children to make viable. All apartments have at least two bedrooms and the largest have four. Five apartments in the

Complex are reserved for families with handicapped members. Each house has a laundry room and a television room although many families have their own televisions. The Complex, in addition to its child facilities, has a cafeteria, which also serves as a meeting room, and three "entertainment" rooms with full-sized kitchens which residents may use to entertain guests when their own modest kitchenettes and family rooms are too small.

I should explain that Tarkma is an ancient city, dating from Roman times, nestled between mountains and sea. The modern construction, which dates from the mid-1920's has been done on a planned basis designed to harmonize with the old city. While the office and business sectors are on the west side of the city, the industrial sectors are concentrated on the eastern side. The really heavy, dirty industries, like steel foundries and pulp and paper mills, are located at some distance from the city and serviced by special rapid trains.

New residential construction on the western and northern sides of the city is composed of cooperative complexes like the Sunrise Complex, some reserved for families, some catering to adults living singly or in pairs, some mixed. In the inner city, housing is more varied. One can rent a complete and independent apartment much like a Canadian apartment. Some of the older buildings have been converted into mini-cooperatives or hotels housing 10 or more unrelated people. In other cases, a number of neighboring buildings have been associated in a cooperative arrangement in order to be able to offer cafeteria, daycare and other services like the modern complexes.

Jorinth

Friday, October 3, 1980. Jorinth's day begins at 5:00 a.m. when he shuts off his clock-radio alarm and leaps out of bed. During my stay, Jorinth slept on the couch in the family room on the eves of working days so as not to wake Kramla too early. He shaves, dresses, makes his bed and swallows a breakfast of fruit juice and a kind of cheese-filled sweet roll from the family larders. He'll get his coffee on the job. By 5:25 he is ready to go.

Down the escalators and across the playground to the subway. Jorinth always tries to make the 5:36 train because, with reduced night service, the next one gets him to work just a little too late. During the rush hour, the trains run every 3 minutes and the rest of the day every 6½ minutes. Jorinth works as an engineer-mechanic on the subway system and at 5:49 precisely we arrive at the terminus from which he is based.

"Good morning, good evening, Friend\* Lyron," Jorinth greets the engineer who had driven our train and who is just about to go off work.

Lyron gives him a big grin, stretches his arms and, patting his report tablet, replied: "I'm glad my shift is over. This baby's been giving me trouble all night. Now it's your problem."

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\* The Geneseans have adopted the title "Friend" as a replacement for all other titles. Not only does it do away with the Miss-Mrs. problem we have in English but it avoids sexual identification as well. Genesean, like other Latin languages, has masculine and feminine forms for all adjectives and most nouns. Fortunately, it also has a neuter form, and the Geneseans have consciously developed this neutral form in the last 30 years or so in order to avoid references to sex where inappropriate. Therefore, the general form of address is "Amicus" in preference to "Amica" or "Amico." They also have a pronoun, "elu," which translates "he/she" rather than "it" which is "elo." Where appropriate, therefore, I have used "he/she" in this text.



"Thanks a lot pal. What's wrong?"

"Oh, the secondary brake system keeps catching. I shook up the passengers a couple of times last night when we came to a screeching halt in the middle of nowhere. I think there's a slow leak in the hydraulic housing. I tried some repair tape but I couldn't replace the thing because, you know, the repair depot's not open at night."

"If that's all it is, no sweat," laughs Jorinth. "I thought you'd have me on mechanic all day. Do your check-in report and then I'll take a look at it." Turning to me, he explains: "Since train operations became automated in the 1960's, just driving is too dull and monotonous a task. As part of the Genesean 'whole-job' policy, all engineers are trained as basic mechanics and each is responsible for the proper functioning of his train. We do check-out when we take the train out--a fifteen minute security check of all operating systems--and a ten-minute check-in when we bring it back. That way, two separate mechanics have looked it over before it operates. If anything goes wrong during a run, we're expected to repair it ourselves. Of course, if the breakdown is really major or dangerous, we take the train out of operation and bring it up to the repair depot where there's a specialized team. Every two weeks each train gets a major overhaul with one of its operating engineers. I share a train with Lyron and three other people so I get a day on mechanic about once every six or eight weeks. Otherwise, we do mechanic only when the spirit moves Speedy here," he indicates the train standing in front of us. "Hey you wanta cup of coffee?"

While we walk into the lounge and pour ourselves coffee, I ask: "But then you do mostly just driving? The mechanic part of your job is pretty limited."

"Yea," he assents, "but, it makes all the difference in the world to know how your machine works. When you get an unexpected jolt or a wierd noise, you know why. And when you take it out in the morning, you know it's in good working order because you checked it over yourself. While I was in training, we went to see the London and the Paris systems. They still have narrowly-specialized jobs and you should see their rates of absenteeism, alcoholism, heart attacks and nervous breakdowns. I don't say we don't have any of that here, but if you look at the U.N. reports on metropolitan transport accidents, you'll see that we have the lowest rate in the world."

By this time, Jorinth has signed in for the morning, donned his mechanics apron and started his check-out routine. This involves not only punching various buttons and safety levels but also getting down into the track bed and checking each of the tires and poking around in the train's electric engine. When he's finished, he grins at me, hops up onto the platform and trots off to hang up his apron and wash his hands. Returning, he says: "Lyron was right about the hydraulic brake. I put some more tape on it and we'll bring it in at 9 when rush hour is over and the repair depot is open to fix it properly. Come on, let's go."

The morning seems rather routine. There really isn't much to driving an automated train--it's mostly surveying lights and little dials. But, although they could have been automated, speed control and door opening and closing are under manual control. Jorinth greets the station agents and the other engineers as we go past. I note a number of women among both the station agents and the engineers although they seem to be in a distinct minority.

I ask about salaries. Jorinth says he makes \$6.12 an hour\* and that he is in the middle of the salary scale for municipal employees. I suppress my inclination to remark that that isn't very much but Jorinth guesses what I'm thinking--he knows what Canadian salaries are like--because, with something like a chuckle, he goes on:

"Genesea has an egalitarian incomes policy. In your country, you make a great to-do about differences in rank and promotion. Furthermore, a man's salary is supposed to be high enough to cover the eventuality that he has a dependent wife and children. Did it ever occur to you that that's one of the reasons why you have so much trouble eliminating sexual discrimination in salaries and jobs. Here we try to keep salaries within a narrow range--Kramla can give you the figures; that's her job. Nearly all women work and most who don't do so for a reason and draw Social Security. Children are also on Social Security and bring in \$300 a month till they're through with secondary school. From age 12 on, they're expected to do part-time work--it's integrated into the school system--and by age 18 they're expected to become fully self-supporting. University students, of course, draw some Social Security but they're also expected to work on their off-term and part-time during the school year--I think it's 10 hours a week."

I make a mental note to ask more about this notion of Social Security and ask instead what the salary range is for municipal employees.

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\*I have converted all references to money to Canadian dollars at the official exchange rate of 18 Genesean dentaros to \$1 Canadian. At the time of my visit, there was no black market for foreign currency in spite of exchange controls.

"Beginning salary is \$4.32 an hour. Every two years, you move up one 20¢ salary notch whatever happens. You can also move up to a higher job with training or by applying for the job. For example, I could take the advanced mechanics course--it lasts six months--and move up two notches. I could also take a course in electronics and train to be a dispatcher-controller. Those are the guys who sit in the central dispatch office and survey the movements of the trains and program the computers which guide them. I had an introduction to electronics and computers in my basic training course but I'd need at least another year or two before I could do those jobs."

"Top salary for municipal workers is \$8.62 an hour. The mayor makes that, but so does almost everybody with over 30 years service. Of course, he gets some additional perks like an entertainment allowance."

"Wow," is my response, "you sure don't have much income differential, and not much chance for advancement either!"

"Depends on what you mean by advancement. There's lots of opportunities to change jobs, to acquire new skills, to assume more responsibility. We just don't feel it necessary to accompany promotion with large monetary rewards or major differences in status--we consider the interest and the satisfaction derived from the job to be sufficient motivation. Responsibility also gives you power and that's what motivates some people."

"The income differential is a constant source of debate," he continues. "The purists don't want any at all. But so far we've compromised. People like to feel that they're going somewhere and that they're a little ahead of someone else. But, by linking promotion to



seniority we've eliminated the idea that some people are "better" than others just because they have jobs a little higher up on the scale. Training and merit get you along a little faster in the scale but everybody ends up at the same place in the end. The amount is negotiated at the national level. The usual formula is the cost-of-living plus 3%."

By this time, it's nearly 9 o'clock and we have just pulled into the terminus at the end of the run. "Time for a coffee break," says Jorinth. It feels good to stretch our legs and there are hot sweetrolls to go with the coffee. Afterwards, Jorinth detaches the engine and drives it into the repair depot. He asks for the proper part and replaces it himself in about 20 minutes.

"Doesn't your absence mess up the train scheduling?" I inquire.

"Oh, this morning I reserved this half hour. The computer rescheduled the other trains to reduce the gap around me and by this afternoon, things will be back to normal. We'll make up about 15 minutes at lunchtime too."

We do another round-trip run and then it's time for lunch at about 11:00. Lunch hours are staggered to some extent in order to keep the trains running but basically the mechanics take over for the engineers during the one-hour break. "We're short on time today so let's eat in

the municipal restaurant. Next time we'll try Tuny's Genesean Specials,"\* proposes Jorinth.

Since we are at an off-hour, there isn't much of a line in the cafeteria. There's a choice of two hot meals and a sandwich-salad bar where you make your own. By cafeteria standards, it's good fare. As we go out, I look around to pay.

"My meal comes with my job and my municipal badge," grins Jorinth.

"Yours goes on my guest tab."

"Thank you. Is this cafeteria just for subway workers?"

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\* Indeed, the next time I went to work with Jorinth, he took me to Tuny's Restaurant where I had an excellent fish--one of Genesea's specialties--served in a white wine and walnut-herb sauce. A complete meal with a bottle of Genesean wine came to \$12.50 apiece, which I insisted on paying.

Before arriving in Genesea I had been warned that leaving a tip was regarded as a sign of social backwardness if not as an outright insult. Nevertheless the first time I ate in a restaurant, my Canadian instincts betrayed me and I had started to leave a couple of dollars. The waitress had picked them up and handed them back to me with a smile. At Tuny's Jorinth explained: "Genesea's egalitarian wage policy applies to restaurant waiters, too. That guy probably makes more'n I do because he's at the top of the scale." He gestured at our waiter who was an elderly man. "Waiting in a restaurant is regarded as an ideal job for students and old people because it's light work and easily adapted to part-time hours." Then I realized that almost all the restaurant and cafeteria workers I had seen were either very old or very young.

"No, it services all businesses in a radius of about half a mile. We're in the Southwest Working Zone, you know. In planning the city, we've tried to concentrate business and government offices in the same areas so as to be able to offer common facilities: transportation, food, sports and so forth. Cafeterias are furnished by the municipality and other businesses either have their own cafeterias or sign a service contract with the municipal cafeteria. Visitors can come in only as guests of someone already registered here as they don't want to have to deal with money. But there are a dozen or so cafeterias open to the public in the neighborhood."

The afternoon is uneventful and it is 3 o'clock by the time Jorinth has completed his check-in report and hung up his apron.

"Do you get paid overtime for the fifteen minutes you made up for at lunchtime?" I ask.

"Nah! I could ask for it, but I don't want them breathing down my neck the occasional time I'm 5 minutes late so I don't bug them for the occasional 15 minutes extra. A worker's expected to do his job well and we don't argue over details unless something is basically wrong."

"Tomorrow's Saturday--not only my day off, but a day off for the whole family. I want to get the housework done today so as to be free tomorrow. Everybody off together two days in a row is a special occasion. Kramla and the kids are free almost every Saturday and Sunday but I work variable hours. I'm on dayshift because people with small children get preference for shift choice, but I work one 5-day straight shift 6:00 to 3:00 and one 5-day split shift 5:45 to 9:45 and 3:00 to 7:00."

"But I thought 4-day weeks were the rule?"

"They are and I only work an average of 32 hours a week. But we have to keep the trains running seven days a week--Saturdays and Sundays are almost as busy as weekdays--and so we do special rotation in order to give everybody their share of Saturdays and Sundays. I do 5-days-on, 4-days-off three times; 5-days-on, 3-days-off once; in a 35-day period that gives me exactly 20 days on and 15 days off like everyone else. On weeks when I don't have Saturday or Sunday off, I try to plan something special with the kids on another day of the week. Keeping them out of school occasionally is not regarded as disruptive and Kramla can usually choose her weekday off as she likes."

"With a moving schedule like that, isn't it hard to do anything regular, meetings or sports groups or something like that?"

"Sometimes it's a problem but we get a lot of days off and even when I'm working, half the time I'm through by 3:00 anyhow. Also my co-workers are pretty good about trading a day if there's something I really want to do."

"Well, let's see. This week I'm in charge of food and laundry and Kramla with the two older kids will do the housecleaning. Next week we switch off. Let's get something to eat, though. Supper won't be till 7:00."

We stop at a little restaurant and buy a kind of lamb shish kebab on a roll, sort of like a Greek souvlaki. Then we take the subway home, stopping at the Complex daycare center to pick up Tonith. At the apartment we gather up the laundry bags and the piles of sheets the kids had stripped off their beds that morning. Jorinth explains that they do laundry twice a week, doing half the towels and half the sheets each



time. Each family has a utility cart for trundling around packages and bundles. We take the laundry down to the laundry room and start loads in three of the room's four machines. Then we board the subway, cart and all, and ride two stops to an underground shopping center.

I should explain that public transportation in Tarkma, and indeed in all of Genesea, is free. Because many streets are blocked off to make play space, it's rather difficult to get around in a car. That, combined with high taxes on cars and gasoline and a dirth of parking space, means that only 2 per cent of Tarkmanian families own their own cars. The figure is somewhat higher for rural families. There are also large rental-car pools for people who want to take vacations in areas not easily accessible by public transportation.

The subway system is very pleasant and efficient and people jump on it to go to school, shopping, recreational activities or work, like we would walk three blocks. Like Paris or Amsterdam, the whole city is much more compact than North American cities and distances are rarely more than 10 or 15 minutes away. For those who suffer from claustrophobia there is also a well-run bus service and bicycles are a popular mode of transportation in spite of the hills in some sections of town.

"The Complex has a small grocery-variety store attached to the cafeteria but when I want to do a real shopping I come here," explains Jorinth.

"How much shopping do you do since you eat most of your meals in the cafeteria?" I ask.

"Well, tomorrow, we're going on a picnic and Sundays we always try to keep as an eat-at-home day. Cooking is one of my hobbies and I

promised to let Turni make a cake for Sunday night dinner. Also we've gotten into the habit of keeping a permanent list of other things we need so we do grocery and other shopping at the same time and don't waste time running around. Loolon wants a new ruler for school. I have to buy a zipper for my jacket which broke and Tonith, here, needs new shoes. Kramla wants some stationery but she'll have to choose it herself as she never likes what I buy."

We do the non-food items first. I'm impressed by Jorinth's competence in choosing such technical items as a zipper as well as a child's shoes. I ask him whether he'll sew in the zipper himself.

"I could or I could take it to a launderer to have it done. But Kramla likes sewing and she usually does that kind of thing. We do maintain some division of labour, you know. She sews and does the carpentry work. I'm the mechanic-electrician and take care of the house-plants and the terrace flower garden. We both cook when the inspiration hits us and cleaning and laundry are divided. Of course, living in a cooperative complex, we save a lot of time on housework. I think Kramla and I together save more than two hours a day by not cooking, shopping or washing dishes and when we do cook on Sundays and holidays, it's because we want to and it becomes a creative family leisure activity."

"The Complex provides major cleaning services and structural repair-- walls, windows, carpets, ovens, broken toilets, refrigerators, painting, that kind of thing. Single-parent families with no children over 10 as well as people who are ill or handicapped get special cleaning help on a weekly basis. Of course, the Complex maintains all the common rooms including the entertainment kitchens and reception rooms. There are also

specialty shops or workers for almost any other kind of housework: furniture or appliance repair, laundering, mending and dry cleaning. Sometimes we'll take things out when we're short on time or when it's a job one or the other of us doesn't particularly like to do. We try to keep just the creative and personal aspects of housework--enough to keep in touch with the real necessities of our daily life. Of course, we each do three hours of Complex duty every week as well."

"Im' glad to hear a man say that housework has some creative aspects," I interrupt with a smile.

"I think most men of my generation feel that way. We were pretty much raised to do our share of the housework and to regard it as a welcome change from the more abstract nature of schoolwork. I remember my parents fighting about it though. My father was a good socialist, committed to the principle of equality for women. He felt it his duty to help around the house. But my mother always used to complain that she had to tell him what to do and she was always criticizing him for not doing things properly. Sometimes I think she wasn't very tactful and she was a bit fussy as a housekeeper but the truth was that, in spite of all his good intentions, she still did three-quarters of the housework. Of course, since then, the socialization of housework has progressed tremendously and there's a lot less to be done at least on an individual basis. If you count time spent with children, a large part of which is now leasure activity, I probably do slightly more housework than my father did but Kramla probably does a good deal less than her mother or my mother did."

The grocery store in which we now stand is much like one of our super markets and includes wine, beer and some variety items like the

ruler Jorinth buys for Loolon. We load everything into the cart and return to the subway.

"I'll have to take this to the freight car in the rear," says Jorinth "because it's rush hour. Why don't you ride up front with Tonith, where you'll be less jostled." I peek into the freight car and notice a dozen or so bicycles as well as a couple of carts like Jorinth's. To my surprise, Jorinth is right about rush hour: it isn't crowded to the point of being unpleasant and people seem to prefer to wait for the next train rather than crowd on to the first one.

Back home, we pass by the laundry room. Someone has started the fourth machine and left a pile of clothes next to Jorinth's machine with a cupful of soap and a note specifying water temperature and cycle settings. While Tonith and I put their laundry into the dryers, Jorinth starts the waiting load. Then we go upstairs and unpack the groceries. Loolon is home from school. Jorinth sends her out to get Turni who goes to the day-care center on the days his parents aren't home and he doesn't have after-school activities because Jorinth and Kramla consider him still too young to be at home alone.

#### Kramla

Kramla rises at 7:00. Actually the two younger kids have their own internal alarm clocks and we hear Turni and Tonith pattering around in the family room a few minutes before Kramla's alarm goes off. She rises



cheerfully and does about five minutes of stretching exercises while Tonith lounges in her bed kibbitzing.

"Run wake up Loolon," Kramla tells Turni giving him a kiss. In about 20 minutes, Kramla has managed to get herself dressed, turned Tonith's pants around properly and tied her shoes. She sends Turni back to put on a short-sleeved shirt as the day promises to be warm. "Laundry day," she calls. Turni and Loolon pull the sheets off their beds and stuff their towels in their laundry bags. Kramla helps Tonith with hers and makes her own bed. Leaving the laundry in a pile in a corner of the family room, the whole family troops down to the Complex cafeteria, Kramla with her briefcase and the two older children with their schoolbags.

After a modified continental breakfast of fruit, coffee or hot chocolate and rolls, Tonith skips off to the nursery school which adjoins the cafeteria. Turni and Loolon decide to walk to school with their friends since it's such a nice day, but Turni explains to me with six-year-old seriousness that they could take the subway one stop if it were raining.

Kramla and I take the Southwest subway line to the same industrial zone out of which Jorinth works but one stop closer. Like the children, we choose the outdoor route rather than the underground tunnels. We are walking in what would seem to be a downtown area in most large cities, a pocket of assorted high-rise buildings, vintage 10 to 60 years ago.

Kramla turns into one of the buildings marked Genesee State Building No. 2. "The national government offices occupy these three buildings," she explains indicating three grey-glassed needles standing in a triangle in a large rectangular space. We go up to the 38th floor, where Kramla

introduces me to Narton, the receptionist, a young man, and asks for her messages.

Once inside her office, Kramla explains: "Narton is a trainee, fresh out of University with a Licencia. Trainees here start by doing three months of reception work or mail delivery or something like that. Not only does it give them a chance to meet everybody and figure out what different people do, but we also consider it a way of bringing university students down off their high horses. Most secretarial executives--that's my job title--these days have two to four years of university work although the formal requirement is a secondary degree. The University students regard themselves as experts and expect to be making wide-ranging policy decisions and implementation right away. So we put them in a position to just watch for a couple of months. By then, they begin to have a better idea of the complexity of the situation and a better respect for the interdependence of all the different jobs that have to be done. Then we begin to ease them into jobs with more responsibility. People who have just a secondary degree have a larger component of secretarial work, and take longer to work their way up through the ranks because, although they soon see what the work is all about, they don't have enough theoretical background to participate in the policy discussions and to defend a policy in front of the regional groups with which we work. So we encourage them to go back and take some university courses."

"Do you have paid educational leave?"

"Not exactly. Since we only work a 30-hour, four-day week, people who want to take a course or two are expected to do it on their own time. That was one of the objectives in reducing working hours--to make

continuing education compatible with work. I try to take at least one or two courses a year myself. Right now, I'm taking a course on vegetable gardening at the Botanical Institute. Last winter I did one on Women in North American Society at the University. Next year I may go back and finish my Diploma de Studias Superiores\* in Labour Economics on a full-time basis. People who want to go back to school on a full-time basis just do. They continue working 10 hours a week here--usually we'll give them a routine job so it doesn't distract them from their studies--and they'll get Social Security like any other student. Tuition is free except for a nominal \$20 per course and Social Security includes a book allowance for students."

"All right, tell me about Social Security. It's been intriguing me since I got here."

"In Canada, Social Security refers to public old-age and disability insurance, right? You also have unemployment insurance which covers maternity leave and special programs for work accidents and automobile accidents. The idea is to insure minimum income levels for people in certain situations when they can't work and earn their own living. Only in Canada you feel obligated to pass moral judgments about what constitutes a legitimate reason for not working and each of your programs is administered separately so that you have specialists who decide whether a person is eligible or not. And in the end run, you still need a Social Welfare program with all the stigma that's attached for people who don't fit into any of the other programs. Furthermore, none of your programs really provide adequate income levels and welfare, in particular, is geared to keep people somewhat below the poverty level so they'll try to

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\*Equivalent to a Master's degree.

get off it if they can. The worst victims of your system are women--the best Social Security a woman can get in North America is still a working husband.

"In Genesee, the key to our Social Security program is that we provide jobs for everyone and everyone is expected to work at least part time. We've generalized the concept of Social Security and unified its administration under one roof. Social Security covers all periods in a person's life when he or she is unable, by any reasonable criteria, to earn all or part of his own living. This includes childhood, although between 12 and 18 children do productive work a few hours a week, studenthood, early parenting, sickness, disability and old age."

"Basic payment is 30 hours a week at the minimum wage of \$4.00 an hour, that's \$120 a week or \$6,200 a year. Given the numbers of services that are free here--health care, the better part of prescription drugs, public transportation, schooling, sports--and the other services which are partially subsidized--childcare and babysitting, cafeterias--that's quite enough to live on. Children draw their own Social Security of \$300 a month plus \$50 a week for pre-schoolers to pay for daycare, so a single person on Social Security with children has a fairly decent level of family income but without extravagances. Everybody who can is encouraged to work part time and, since most salaries are higher than the minimum wage, people actually bring in more than the basic amount. Students, for example, are expected to work 10 hours a week during the school term and full time during their off-term. Like everybody else, they also get a one-month paid vacation, so they actually receive Social Security for 30 weeks at 20 hours per week and 4 weeks at full payment--



for vacations--for a total of \$2880 a year. If they work as expected, their income will be somewhat above \$6,200. If they choose not to work, then they have to live more cheaply. They also get a book-and-supplies allowance of \$150 per term."

"But being a full-time student in Canada requires 40 to 50 hours per week. Isn't that a rather heavy load?" I ask.

"We consider four courses and 30 to 35 hours a week to be a normal load for a student. With 10-hours-a-week work in addition, that's not much heavier than for someone who works 30 to 32 hours a week and takes one course at the University. We consider work an important part of education and jobs are program-related where possible. Medical students, for example, work up from hospital maintenance-scrubbing floors and making beds--through nursing duties to intern jobs as they progress through the program. They probably do somewhat heavier loads than most people but they don't do 70 hours a week like your interns and when they become doctors they don't make any more money than anybody else does either. Society pays for their studies, so society gets the benefits."

"Do you have a problem with doctors leaving for countries which pay higher salaries?"

"To some extent, but most Geneseans like their country. Doctors take up the profession because they enjoy it. Also we train people at many different levels and class 1 nurses and doctors' aids perform a lot of the duties which only doctors can perform in your country for example. A lot of doctors are nurses or doctors' aids who have gone back to complete their medical training at age 35 or 40 or even 50."

"What about old people? Do they have private savings and private

pension plans to supplement Social Security?"

"Some do, but basically we try to maintain the income levels they had when they were working. After age 60, and in some cases before age 60 when health reasons require it, people are allowed to reduce their work week as they see fit down to zero hours per week. They receive Social Security at a rate of 90% of their salary--current salary if they're still working, last-earned salary if they're not--for whatever hours they don't work up to 30 hours per week. Since most old people are at the top of their salary scales, their actual incomes are as high or higher than those of most workers. Social Security payments are automatically increased when salaries are, as part of the national incomes policy, so there's no problem about falling behind the cost of living. Most old people like to keep in touch with the work world, so they'll keep on working 10 to 20 hours a week or so and just take long vacations. Many of them will take jobs in their housing complex in the cafeteria or doing supplemental babysitting--that's babysitting outside of regular 8-to-6 daycare hours. We have a couple of retirees in our section, here at the Ministry of Employment. One 68-year-old woman still works full time; a 66-year-old man and two women in their 70's are on a part-time basis."

"Hmmm. How are you sure, there'll be work for everyone." I ask.  
"What about unemployment and unemployment insurance?"

"That is precisely and exactly my job," replies Kramla with a smile.  
"But before we get into that, let me finish with Social Security. So far we've dealt with students, children and old people. In case of accidents, sickness or any other form of disability including a permanent handicap,

we try to treat people like old people. If they can't work--doctor certified--they're paid Social Security either at the \$4.00 rate or at 90% of their former salary whichever is greater. If they can work, we find jobs adapted to their particular handicap and they work full time or part time as they can. If people have special problems, they may negotiate supplemental income but we prefer to provide them with whatever services they need--audio and Braille libraries for the blind, special companions for the crippled who can't dress themselves. You'll notice that the subway system is designed to permit people on crutches and in wheel chairs to get around pretty much by themselves. In every housing complex there are a couple of units designed for handicapped people. Medical care, education and prosthetic equipment are, of course, free."

"The last major area for Social Security is parenting. At the birth of every child, the family is given a "parenting bank." Last year the bank was increased from 108 to 120 working days or 30 four-day weeks, including retroactively for all children four or under which was nice for us with Tonith. For adopted children the parenting bank depends on the age of the child but contains an 8-week minimum including for school-age children. Either parent can use the bank, simultaneously or separately, and any time taken off from the ninth month of pregnancy on is deducted from the parenting bank. Time taken off before then is covered by regular sickness and disability insurance if it's medically certified. That includes problems arising from abortions or miscarriages."

"Don't women have time off for doctor's visits and so forth?"

"No, just like we don't have any provision for short-time sick leave. With the thirty-hour week, we think people can do those things on their

own time especially since most doctors' offices are open on Saturdays. Most employers will also allow employees to reschedule their working time around doctor's visits and minor illnesses within reason. Any illness over 3 days, or 6 days in a 4-week period, is eligible for Social Security sickness insurance if it's certified by a doctor."

"So women get a seven-month maternity leave?"

"No. It's not just a maternity leave, it's a parenting bank. We encourage fathers to use at least two months of it and it's designed to be spread over the entire preschool period. For example, when Tonith was born, I stopped working in my eighth month because my job involves travelling and, with two other kids at home, the doctor said I needed more rest. The first three weeks, as well as two weeks I had taken in my third month because of some complications was covered by sickness insurance. Tonith came a week early, so by the time she was born I had used three weeks of our parenting bank. Jorinth took off three days from the parenting bank and then had a regular 4 days off to get me settled at home and help get the rest of the family adjusted to a new baby. Turni was two and Loolon was five then. I spent 7 weeks at home to recuperate and to nurse. Then I went back to work on a modified 24-hours-a-week basis. In other words, Tonith was in the office creche and I had an hour-and-a-half per working day to nurse him. That lasted another five months or so till Tonith was weaned. Let's see, that counted for 20% of my working week for 22 weeks or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  weeks. So by the time I went back to work full time I had used  $14\frac{1}{2}$  weeks and Jorinth had used  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a week.

"At 9 months, Tonith came down with a bad case of roseola and Jorinth



stayed home with her. We could have put her in the infirmary but Jorinth decided it was time to get to know her better so he took four weeks off and Kept Turni, and sometimes Loolon, home too just for the fun of it. I think we used another 2 weeks with illnesses of various sorts. Then, when Tonith was three-and-a-half and Turni was 5--actually last summer--we decided to extend our vacation period to be able to spend more time with the kids. We took a month apiece and took a trip to Italy. Actually, we still had three weeks left in Turni's bank so we only needed 5 weeks from Tonith's bank. Now Tonith is four and we have about 2½ weeks of parenting left. You see, the idea is not only to provide for pregnancy and childbirth but to allow parents extra time for their preschool children. It's not just babies who need their mothers around--and their fathers," she adds hastily, "it's children of all ages. People could actually use their parenting bank for older children but then everybody does have a regular month's vacation and 4-day weeks. Maybe longer vacations for everybody will be our prioity next round of negotiations."

"We do everything possible to convince women that working is compatible with childraising and to convince men that childraising is as much their job as the women's and as important as their paid work. Not only is the regular workweek 30 to 32 hours but paid overtime and secondary jobs are limited to 8 hours a week. Of course, men who really want to take care of their children can find other things to do but it's not in the social mores."

"What if a woman, or a man, wants to stay home with their children for more than 7 months?" I ask.

"Some people do. Mostly women still. Social Security pays an extra

\$50 a week for preschool children for child care and this provides some income to them but not nearly as much as they would get working. Most families use the \$50 to pay for regular daycare at \$10 a day. One compromise is for a parent to take a job at the daycare center or to take in another child or two--four, including their own, is the maximum allowed."

"How come daycare centers aren't free?" I ask. "That's one of the big battles back home."

"It was one of the big debates here too. We finally opted for maximum personal choice. But, in addition to the \$10 per child from the parents, daycare centers also get about the same amount in direct subsidies from the government. So that's our idea of Social Security. Now, let me tell you about my job."

"Yes, do," I agree. "So, your job is to find jobs for people, like in our manpower centers?"

"Well, that's the function of the Genesean Ministry of Employment. My particular job is to help the regional offices develop new kinds of industrial projects. I don't actually sit in the Employment Office and refer people to jobs. That's a regional function rather than a national function anyhow. There are 17 regional offices and a few subregional offices as well. We make major policy decisions here but implementation is decided on and carried out by special regional boards with union, business and community representatives. I have to attend a meeting of the Solali\* Regional Board this afternoon so you'll be able to see how it works.

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\* Solali is the region directly east of Tarkma and it contains most of Tarkma's heavy industry although it is also an important truck-farming area.

"Let me explain what our general employment policy is and then I'll tell you about my job. As I said before, Genesee's policy is to provide jobs for everyone who wants to work anywhere from 10 to 32 hours a week. We don't have unemployment. People do lose their jobs, of course. There can be a cutback in production, or occasionally a plant or office shutdown. People can quit their jobs or get fired for bad work. They get two weeks on Social Security which gives them a chance to register with the Employment Office and to start looking for another job. After two weeks they have to take one of the jobs we offer them."

"What if they don't like the job you offer or they're not trained for it." I query.

"We always offer a choice of 3 to 6 jobs. Most of the jobs in our residual bank are community-service jobs like housing and public building maintenance or construction or cafeteria work or services to the sick, handicapped and old people or working with children. But almost all openings in the public and private sectors are filed with us so we can usually place even highly specialized workers in appropriate jobs except during recessions. But the idea is that everyone works and if they don't like their present job, then they should find a new one before they leave their old one. Everyone eligible for the two-week unemployment insurance is also given an 8-day bank for job-hunting purposes. That, plus their regular three days a week off, is considered sufficient for job interviews and so forth especially as the Employment Office does most of the legwork for them. Our statistics show that 78% of new jobs are found through an Employment Office reference. Any time from the eight days unemployment insurance which wasn't used can also be added

to the job-hunting bank, so the maximum is 16 days per year for new-job hunting."

"What about someone who wants to look for a new job without quitting his/her old one? Can he/she get job-hunting days off?"

"Yes, a person can register with the Employment Office and his/her current employer must give him/her the days off. But a lot of people don't want to register because they don't want the current employer to know they're dissatisfied."

"What about people who simply don't want to work? What about artists who don't want a 9-to-5 job? There isn't much unemployment insurance to abuse, is there?"

"We regard work as essential to the human condition and we try to make it productive and rewarding and also to limit hours so that it's compatible with a wide range of other personal activities--school, family life, community and union participation leisure and sports activities. Artists have to make a choice. Many teach. Some take any old job for 15 or 20 hours a week to earn what they need to live on. Musicians and dancers and actors can usually find regular jobs and draw salaries like anyone else. Sculptors, painters, writers, handicrafters-- I guess they operate like small businessmen or independent professionals. They make their living selling what they produce. MAG\* has an arts-and-crafts section which handles arts-and-crafts products from individuals or cooperatives on a commission basis. So any artist who's any good can earn a decent living. The real problem is to get started, I guess."

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\*MAG stands for Marcadi de Genesea or "Markets of Genesea." It is the government-owned wholesale and retail commercial operation which controls about 40% of commercial operations from food to airplane tickets in Genesea.



"But what about people who just don't want to work, students who want to bum around for a year?"

"That's their choice. If they can save up enough money or if they can beg or borrow from their parents, then they're free to do so. We also offer a lot of off-term jobs up in the mountains or out in the country, maintaining the forests and hiking trails, working with biologists or marine specialists or farmers so that work has a certain vacation aspect. Most university programs also include at least one three-month stint abroad. The off-term job in the third year is usually a program-related trip of this kind either individually or in a group. There's also a 3-or-4-week trip abroad provided for in the secondary school curriculum."

"And you know, we do have a skid row like any other major city. Have you been down to Old King Thorndon Street in the old city? You'll find winos and junkies and flophouses like anywhere else. The municipal government maintains a rehabilitation center down there and another one up in the mountains but that's the best we can do. We encourage people who don't seem to be able to settle into a job or who keep getting fired to go into counselling or sometimes to a retraining camp where they can pick up job-related skills without the kind of pressure they find on the job. Most young people pick those up at school anyhow. But if a person doesn't want to work there's nothing we can do about it."

"Now, I can't decide whether to ask you how you find jobs for everyone or how you find enough workers to do all the jobs that have to be done," I say with a laugh.

"Well, obviously the two parts of your question answer each other. In fact, we do mobilize a much larger part of our labour force than any

other country including the so-called communist countries. The labour force participation rate of women 18 to 65 is 75% on a full-time basis with an additional 18% working part time and most of those are students, have small children or are over 60.\* Among men, comparable rates are 82% full time and 16% part time. I should tell you though that people on parenting leave, temporary sick leave or vacation are considered to be in the labour force and they make up about 15% of the labour force at any given time. The unemployment rate, in the sense of people who are drawing unemployment insurance, is less than half a percentage point. For people over 65, the full-time labour force participation rate is about 30% and part-time rates another 40%. Rates for women in any age group are slightly lower than for men but then women live longer and go on working longer usually part time.

"Hmmm. That's very interesting," I muse. "Even with your shorter workweek, longer vacations and generous Social Security Policy, you probably get more hours of work out of your population than we do."

"Yes, and you should also remember that our rate of absenteeism is much lower, about 1.5% compared with 4% in Canada."

"What about strikes?"

"Well, it's not really fair to compare time lost on strikes because negotiations are so centralized here. In a normal year we lose maybe a million hours of work--that's about 10 minutes per worker--but when we have a national strike, the whole country stops. The last time was in 1972 and it only lasted four days."

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\* Kramla's desk and office are filled with government and international documents from which she cited various figures she quotes here.

"Now, for the other side of my question. What do people do? How do you know you can find jobs for all of them?"

"Imagination, my dear. That's my job, by the way, to work with Regional Boards to create industrial and community-service jobs when they're needed. As you have undoubtedly noticed, the socialisation of housework has created a lot of jobs. Basically, we consider the service and the construction sectors of the economy to be infinitely elastic. If we need more jobs, we go into the community and we find out what the community needs--a new recreational program for the youngsters; the old people would like to charter busses and take more trips; the streets aren't being cleaned often enough; they need a new recreation room, more housing, a new clinic or hospital. Of course, we also try to create a balance of industrial jobs too, as you'll see in Solali this afternoon?"

"Yes, but who pays for all that? You must have an enormous government deficit. Don't people object to paying more taxes for services which are marginal at best?"

"That's certainly a capitalist way of looking at economics. Our policy is that government should spend money to create goods and services that are needed when the real resources necessary to produce them are available. If there are people unemployed then there are resources available. Financing the production is largely a matter of accounting. Government gets most of its revenues from its own enterprises or from the corporation tax. The personal income tax only applies to incomes over \$12,000 and only 3% of government revenues come from this source. Since we start with an egalitarian wage-policy we don't see any reason to duplicate the effort twice and redistribute a second time through the

tax system--the income tax is mainly designed to catch people with large incomes from business and independent professional activity rather than ordinary salaried people none of whom made over \$14 or \$15 thousand a year."

"As for investment, the government can finance it out of current revenue or borrow directly from the Genesee National Bank or the credit unions or by selling bonds to the public. In capitalist countries recessions come about because people, or more usually, corporations want to save more than businesses are willing to invest. Here, we have an active contra-cyclical policy. During prosperous times, businesses are encouraged by special tax exemptions to deposit a certain proportion of their profits in a special investment fund. In times of recession, they are allowed to withdraw those funds without paying taxes in order to undertake productive investment. Of course, the government also has its own contra-cyclical investment policy and it always has a bank of public construction and other special projects to be drawn upon."

"But isn't your service sector over-developed relative to your manufacturing sector? I mean, only the secondary sector is "productive" in the Marxist sense of the word, isn't it. The tertiary sector is just a superstructure built up around the real value produced in the factories," I try to articulate what little I understand of Marxist economics.

Kramla is frankly amused. "Now that is an anachronism which dogmatic Marxists have perpetuated into an economic era when it no longer makes any sense. In the 19th century when Marx wrote, most services were performed inside the family by family members for working class families and by domestic servants for bourgeois families. By and large, the services of doctors or lawyers or teachers or even hairdressers weren't available



except to the rich. In any case they didn't go through the market, did not generate profit and were outside the capitalist system. So Marx considered them as 'non-productive'. Today services are an important part of the capitalist market system; they're a source of exploitation and profit for the capitalist, unless they happen to be produced by government, and they make up an important part of the living standard of the working class."

"In fact, in Genesee we try to promote services and collective consumption rather than material goods as a way of improving people's living standards. We'd rather provide housekeeping services to people than have everyone own their own vacuum cleaner, washing machine, dishwasher, etc. We'd rather provide free public transportation than have everyone own their own car. We'd rather go overboard on Complex and neighborhood recreation centers and sports facilities than have people have their own recreation rooms, ping-pong tables and swimming pools. We provide cafeteria services for most meals and collective entertainment rooms so people don't have to have their own elaborate kitchens and complete sets of china and so forth."

"By minimizing private consumption of material goods we're less dependent on foreign trade, we live in greater harmony with the natural environment and we promote greater collective and social responsibility and respect for property. Children rarely vandalize their schools or housing complexes here because it belongs to them. If the pool table is ripped across or the swimming pool has dirt in it, or the windows of the school are broken, they're the ones who suffer and, by the way, who have to make the repairs.

"But to answer your question about the tertiary sector being over-developed, the problem is not how many services we offer but whether we can maintain a healthy balance of payments. We're a small country and we import all of our oil, a good part of steel and industrial machinery as well as a lot of other raw materials necessary for our manufacturing industries, not to mention 40% of all finished goods consumed here. Imports represent 22% of our GNP. Besides that, Geneseans like to travel so the "invisible" items on our trade account are not unimportant. They're partially compensated for by our own tourist trade, of course. We do, therefore, have to have an active policy to promote manufacturing industry both for export purposes and as import-substitution. Our main industries are small household appliances, sporting good, fine woolens and knits, the famous Genesean glassware and, of course, fish, olives, fruit and candies. You'll see, this afternoon at Solali, we're going to be discussing the possibility of opening a new factory for the production of electric hair dryers. In France and Germany and Holland and even Yugoslavia, women are beginning to do their hair at home more and more rather than go to the beauty parlor which is becoming impossibly expensive. So there's a large untapped market. Here in Genesea a lot of housing complexes are buying commercial-type hair dryers and installing them in the laundry rooms or the television rooms so we have a domestic market too."

"But won't you be in competition with the American and German multinationals?"

"Yes, of course. But our expertise is in electrical appliances and Genelectrica--that's a government-owned electrical appliance company--

already has a well-developed export network all over Europe and in Africa. Besides, I think we understand the European market better than the Americans. In fact, our main rivals in this area are the Italians."

"What do you do when there's a world recession like the one we're in now? How do you avoid importing unemployment?"

"That is, indeed, one of our main problems. If we can't export we can't import so that's just exactly what we do. We impose import restrictions, exchange controls and travel restrictions--we had to cancel our trip to England this summer for that reason. But we don't allow unemployment. We create more services, do more construction--especially construction with marble because we quarry it ourselves--and sometimes we just give more vacations. Last summer, when things were slow, rather than lay people off, Genelectrica, to name one company, just gave everybody an extra week's vacation at full pay. Of course, people had to take the vacation in Genesea but it generated internal demand for rental cars, hotel rooms, restaurant services, hiking shoes, backpacks, boats, life-vests, all kinds of things."

"What about oil? How have you been hit by rising OPEC prices?"

"Well, we're rather fortunate. We have a large amount of hydro-electric power because of the mountains and we're also experimenting with tidal power and with a new technique for generating electricity by osmosis when fresh water flows into salt water. There's a whole vacation villa which gets 60% of its electrical power needs from an experimental station in Antigua up the coast. But we also have one of the lowest rates of energy consumption in the industrial world. Of course, with our Mediterranean climate we don't have much heating needs, and the sea

breezes and mountains have fortified our resolution to do without air conditioning. But the real secret is no private cars. So the rising oil prices have forced us to revise our import priorities but we haven't really been hurt."

I glanced at my watch. "My heavens, it's 11:30 and you haven't got any work done at all this morning."

"Yea, and we even forgot our coffee break." Kramla smiles. "Fortunately, part of my job is to receive foreign visitors and explain our employment policy. Let me just make one phone call and type one letter and then we'll go for lunch."

After a brief phone call, Kramla types a letter on an IBM computerized typewriter, signs it and seals it. My head is full of questions but I hold off until she's finished and occupy my time by looking at some of her books. When she's finished, she puts a few papers in her briefcase and smiles at me: "Come on we'll have lunch in Solali. They have an absolutely marvelous outdoor restaurant there."

As we go out, she leaves the letter with Narton and reminds him that she won't be in for the rest of the afternoon. We take the subway to the East side of town and then transfer to a kind of commuter train which takes us to Solali. The whole trip takes about 45 minutes which gives me a chance for more questions.

"Do you always type your own letters? Aren't you pretty high up on the executive ladder to do that?"

"My job title is 'secretarial-executive'. At my rank 20 to 25% of my job is secretarial. I type my own individual letters but my documents and circular letters will be done by someone in Class 7 or below who has



about a 70% secretarial component. Didn't Jorinth explain our 'whole-job' policy to you?"

"He explained his job to me, but he didn't explain the general concept."

"Actually, the whole-job policy was one of the themes of the women's movement 20 or 25 years ago when I was a teenager. That was a period when the labour force participation of women was still growing at astronomical rates. Women in their 30's and 40's coming back into the labour force after having spent 10 or 15 years at home raising kids and keeping house, didn't like the idea of spending their time repeating the same mechanical gesture over and over again on an assembly line or standing all day selling goods or getting a backache in a typing pool typing words they didn't really understand."

"Their argument was: 'You men look down on housework. You tell us it's not socially productive, that it's repetitive and meaningless. But in the home, we're our own bosses and we control our own time and we have to understand the whole process and have a wide variety of skills. As for repetitiveness, how many of you can truly say you don't repeat your tasks more often than we wash a floor, or cook a meal or change a baby's diaper. As for meaningfulness, how would you like us to stop washing floors, cooking meals and changing diapers?' And the men looked at their own jobs and a hell of a lot of them couldn't answer."

"So we elaborated the whole-job policy. The principle is that the worker should have control of the whole of a job, that specialization and the hierarchy based on specialization should be kept to a minimum. People are expected to be versatile and to be able to see a job through from

beginning to end. As much as possible, everyone is responsible for his/her own work and all jobs are considered important, if not equally important. It's also one of the ways we adjust to the short hours and frequent vacations. This afternoon, Narton will refer my calls to another secretarial-executive and he/she will be able to handle about 80% of them."

"It used to be that women were secretaries and spent their days typing and executing the orders of the men executives. Of course, a good part of the time, the secretary was doing half the boss's work at a third the salary. Genesean feminists decided that the way to win equality for women was not to fight to get women into 10 or 15 per cent or even 50 per cent of the executive positions but to abolish the distinction altogether. Everybody in an office now does a good part of his/her own typing. There is still some distinction in work content based on rank and seniority but we regard that as part of the learning process."

"I noticed you didn't make a carbon copy or even a photocopy of your letter. Were you trying to save time?"

"Oh, there's a copy in the computer. We let technological change work for us, to make our job easier. In capitalist and communist countries, too often a technological advance means unemployment for some and a destruction of work skills for others. With the new IBM computer typewriters we not only don't have to make copies of our letters, but they also let us make corrections without having to retype letters or texts and they do most of our filing for us too. By the way, we're trying to develop our own typewriter industry as well as a small computer industry."

"But aren't you less productive without division of labour and

specialization? I thought that was what made modern living standards possible."

"We lose some productivity, we gain some. A time-and-motion study would undoubtedly show that in any given time period we're less productive. But we never have Friend X sitting idle waiting for Friend Y to come fix his/her machine. We never have secretaries sitting reading a book because no one's given them something to type. Secretaries rarely have to type a letter over because the boss changed his/her mind about what he/she wanted to say or because he/she was so tense from sitting in one position all day that he/she made too many mistakes. Some of us are better typists than others but, strangely enough, we discovered that has nothing to do with sex."

"So the whole-job policy has eliminated sex discrimination?"

"We-e-ll, not entirely. Most jobs still tend to have a sexist coloration. Men tend to choose certain kinds of jobs and women choose others. In the national government offices something like 60% of secretarial-executives are women, but in the two upper classes the proportion of men is 65%. The men still tend to rise in the ranks faster, partly because they're less likely to stop working for children in spite of the parenting leave, partly because they still have some edge as far as education goes, but largely because they're more aggressive. Power and responsibility attract them while the women tend to hang back and to underestimate their abilities. Not all the men have completely accepted the principle of job equality either. In our office meeting last week Friend Torndon, who's head of the section, proposed that all of the clerical component of the section head and part of that of the assistant

section heads be transferred to someone else because he had too much work to do. The meeting turned him around, suggested he appoint a third assistant and delegate more of his work to other people. He had to admit it was just as good a solution."

"Anyhow, what I wanted to say about productivity," Kramla continues, "is that productivity is as productivity does. If the purpose of higher productivity is to improve the living standard, then we consider that the satisfaction to be gained from having a rewarding and pleasant job is far more important than having a few more goods and services. Also we increase productivity by doing away with useless jobs. We don't have any ticket-takers on our subway trains or busses, no cashiers in our cafeterias, no real-estate agents, fewer sales people. Our government bureaucracy is simplified too. We need far fewer people than you to run the Social Security system or the Income tax office so more people can spend time creating employment and supervising industry."

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Here, I jump to 5:30 in the evening. The session with the Solali Employment Council and the way in which representatives of the various groups negotiate the implementation of the employment policy is the subject of another article.

### Evening

It's 5:30 by the time Jorinth and I have the groceries put away and the three children assembled. Just at that moment, Kramla arrives. After kisses and hugs all around, Kramla changes her clothes and the whole family decides to go for a swim before supper. It's too late to go to the sea shore so we take the subway to the sporting complex at the children's



school. "We often do something together before supper," explains Jorinth. "It works well. We keep Nordic working and lunch hours and Mediterranean supper hours so we have enough time for sports and meetings in the late afternoon." By 7:15 when we arrive at the cafeteria, I am absolutelyavenous. Supper is a relatively big meal and the cafeteria offers a choice of lamb or fish. I opt for the lamb. After supper we go back upstairs. While Kramla puts Tonith to bed, Jorinth goes down to pick up the laundry. By quarter to nine all three children are in bed although Loolon has permission to read for a while.

While Jorinth finishes folding clothes and does some ironing, Kramla makes tea. "How do you like living in a Complex like this? Isn't it rather like a small town where everybody knows what everyone else is doing all the time?"

Kramla wrinkles her brow in thought. "I don't know. I think this place rather has the advantages of an extended family without most of the disadvantages. We each have our own apartment and everybody runs their own life independently. I mean, most people don't work here and they have all kinds of friends and contacts elsewhere. Even the older children go to school with children from elsewhere. At the same time, we have a strong stable community which offers us all kinds of support and services."

"What I like best," Jorinth puts in, "is the fact, that there's always someone to take care of the children when we want to go out or in an emergency. We have a special arrangement with our neighbor Parta and we trade babysitting. She's an ex-air-line stewardess who finally decided she just didn't want to live with her boyfriend but she wanted to have children anyhow. So she got herself pregnant, quit her job and came to

live here. She works as the Assistant Complex Manager for the cafeteria which makes it easy for her to combine work with raising two children. Anyhow, her two are 4 and 5½ and so just the right ages for Turni and Tonith."

"And the right sex, I might add," Kramla interrupts. "Molta, the four-year-old is a girl and Cali, the 5-year-old is a boy."

"So even in a non-sexist society, children prefer other children of the same sex," I remark with a grin.

"Not when they were real little," says Kramla, "but at about the age Tonith is now, it begins to show up. The schools and sports centers try to keep activities mixed. Up until age 12 all the sports teams are mixed and even after that, the girls may try out for a boys' team if they want. We feel the important thing is to offer as many sports opportunities for the girls as for the boys but not necessarily the same ones."

"We also don't have Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts but a single young people's organization called the Explorers," this from Jorinth. "But, as I was saying, we trade babysitting regularly with Parta, especially for the two younger children. Loolon often prefers to go to another friend's house. The Complex also provides supplemental babysitting after 6 p.m. or on Sundays for \$1 an hour per child. The money is reimbursed if one or the other parent is attending a social meeting--That's a Complex meeting or a union meeting or something like that.

"Aren't your children babysat an awful lot?"

"It might seem like that," replies Jorinth, "But with the four-day week, we sometimes even keep them home from school on a weekday if we want to do something special. It's a lot less crowded in the mountains

or in the sailing harbor on weekdays--you'll get a chance to see my sailboat tomorrow, by the way. Anyhow, that's why we like the arrangement with Parta. It's cheaper and it's a lot less like being babysat for the kids. Actually we take her kids a little oftener than she takes ours because there are two of us and only one of her."

"But having all those services and community also entails obligations for you too. Do you really save that much time? And what about decision-making? Do you get into a lot of in-fighting?"

"That's something of a problem," Kramla agrees. "The complex is run by a professional manager who reports to a five-member Administrative Board--I've been a member of that Board for the last two years. Major decisions are made by a Complex Assembly which meets about once every six weeks. There's some politicking and in-fighting but we try to keep things on a business basis as much as possible because that's what people want--a place to live which is efficient and flexible. I think the people who both work and live here are the ones who get caught up in the internal machine the most because it's the center of their life. The daycare center and the cafeteria are run pretty much autonomously too and each has their own Assistant Manager."

"Everybody does three hours a week of Complex duty, too," adds Jorinth. "It's a way to keep costs down and to make work-scheduling flexible but we think it's important to keep the residents involved in the Complex. I work in the daycare center because I really like working with children, and I'm also on the daycare committee. Otherwise, except for union meetings I stay as far away from meetings as possible. I don't mind doing the work but I hate sitting around talking about it. Kramla's the one who

likes meetings and is always getting involved."

Kramla smiles. "Yes, I guess that's true. Not only am I on the Complex Administrative Board but I'm also a delegate to the Municipal Housing Council for this neighborhood. But for my Complex duty I do carpentry work. I like working with my hands and I also like being able to choose my own hours."

"What about privacy? Can you have an afternoon to yourself without everyone barging in?" is my next question.

"People are pretty good about that here," Jorinth answers. "If you want visitors, you leave the door open. People always knock if the door is closed. If I'm engrossed in a book or a sailboat model and I really don't want to answer, I just don't."

"You can't have much of a romantic affair around here or come home drunk in the middle of the night or have a fight with your spouse without everyone knowing about it, though, if that's what you're trying to get at," says Kramla. "But, you know, we don't have any 'battered wives' any more either, at least not in the cities. The other women just don't stand for it. I remember when I was 12, one evening we heard the neighbors fighting and the woman screaming. My mother gathered up 5 or 6 other women in the House and burst in on the couple. They just threw the guy out and they wouldn't let him back in until he promised to get counselling. And they checked up on him, too."

"As far as privacy goes, I guess we expect people to go elsewhere if they want to be alone. Jorinth and I regularly take long weekends alone and sometimes separate vacations. The hotels also rent rooms by the half-day. You see, there are a lot of single parents who don't



want their children involved with casual relationships. Teenagers need places to go too and home is not always the appropriate place. And, of course, hotel keepers don't know who's married and who's not."

This is not really the appropriate time and place to ask each of them how they feel about extramarital sex, so I start to ask another question but Kramla continues: "I suppose you're curious about marital infidelity. My own opinion is that marriage is a useful institution for bringing up children. Having an intimate relationship with one person is also a wonderful experience. And I guess most Geneseans feel the same way because most people still marry and the divorce rate here is probably lower than in most industrialized countries. You see we marry later and we expect less of the family so we're less likely to be disappointed. Not only do we try to give everybody, including children, an individual income so that there's no financial dependence, but we think it very important for married couples to be independent, to have privacy and to have a lot of independent activities. Jorinth's nuts about sailing, I like to go once in a while but I'm very happy when he takes off with the kids, or just Loolon, and I have a day to myself. I'm a party-goer but Jorinth gets bored with them. As for sex and lovers. Genesean's don't regard marriage as implying an exclusive relationship. I don't know about Jorinth, but with a job and a family and all my other activities, my extra-marital encounters have been rather limited." She looks at Jorinth with a twinkle in her eye.

Jorinth smiles enigmatically: "I'm a family man. Kramla's the one who's always trotting off to foreign cities and remote provinces for her job."

A moment of silence. "Uh, how about family finances? How much money do you spend on basics like food and housing? All those services the Complex provides must be pretty expensive," is my next question.

"I keep the family accounts. Here, I'll show you our budget," Kramla volunteers. She takes out a large notebook and a pocket calculator. Let's see, income. I bring in about \$11,000 a year and Jorinth makes a little less, about \$10,000. Each child brings in \$3600 plus \$2600 for childcare for Tonith. That's a total of about \$35,000. Our salaries are too low to pay any income tax."

"As far as expenses go, we pay \$445 a month for the basic unit of family room, two bedrooms and a bath and \$125 for each additional bedroom. That's \$695 a month or \$8300 a year for housing including all the services, maintenance and community rooms that go with it. A full cafeteria contract is \$250 a month for an adult, \$100 for a child under 2, \$150 for children 2 to 11, and \$200 for children 12 to 17. We opt out of lunches and all Sunday meals so we save about a third of the total but then we spend some money on food at home and in restaurants. On average we spend about \$825 a month on food or \$10,000 a year."

"Wow, that's a lot!" I whistle.

"Yes, but don't forget, about two-thirds of it is spent on salaries for cafeteria and restaurant workers. You can't expect prices or family budgets here to resemble yours. Wage levels and employment patterns aren't the same. Daycare and education are virtually free. That leaves clothing as far as necessities are concerned. Say \$300 for each of the kids--we get a lot of stuff from the second-hand stores for them--and \$500 each for Jorinth and me. That's another \$2,000. So the total

comes to about \$23,000. That leaves us \$12,000 for things like furniture, which we already have, and purely recreational purposes."

"The fact is, we have trouble spending it," this from Jorinth. "We spend maybe \$3 or \$4,000 on our annual vacation and less when we stay in Genesea. My sailboat and its upkeep cost about \$2,000 a year. We spend some money on sport teams or courses, sports equipment, movies, theatre, books but we still save \$3 or \$4,000 a year."

"What are you saving for? You'll have a guaranteed income in your old age."

"Oh, we're sort of thinking of taking a year off to travel--maybe to Latin America--when the children are a little older," Kramla answers. If we go with the Genesean Foreign Aid Agency we would both draw a salary, but we'd like to have a few months to travel by ourselves."

"Have you ever thought of buying a country house or something like that?" I ask.

"It's practically impossible," answers Jorinth. "The land is zoned either agricultural, industrial or recreational and the government controls all new construction. Farmers are allowed to own their own homes but other private ownership is discouraged. Besides, we'd much rather rent a house during our vacation. It means we can do something different every year. Right now I'm trying to talk Kramla into buying a yacht with two other couples. It's big enough so that we could travel all over the Mediterranean."

"Maybe next summer," is Kramla's response.

"Do savings draw interest here." I ask.

"Oh, yes. As far as the individual is concerned, the banking system

is pretty much the same as yours. It's just that the government canalizes most of the savings towards social investment. Of course, for us the interest is extra income and we have to pay income tax on it. We could also invest our money in the bond market. Government and private enterprise are financed by bonds here. If you want to buy stocks, you have to invest abroad."

"You seem to live pretty comfortably. But how does your income compare with that of other families? I'm especially curious about single-parent families."

Jorinth has finished the ironing and has started getting things ready for tomorrow's expedition.

Kramla answers my question: "As far as ordinary salaried people go, we're about two-thirds of the way up the scale for a two-adult family. Maximum salary is about \$15,000. Most small businessmen and non-salaried professionals make incomes comparable to that of salaried workers. A few make more. So do a few people who manage to get themselves employed as representatives of foreign firms. But politicians, the top managers of government-owned firms, doctors, university professors are on the same scale as everyone else. The only advantage they may have is that they find it easier, for example, to get a grant or a special subsidy to go abroad."

"Isn't there a terrible temptation to open up one's own business or to do free-lance work?"

"What for? It means working 60 or 70 hours a week. Most people are like us. They don't really know what to spend their money on. When the State insures an adequate income for you for the rest of your life, savings



and private property lose their charms except for immediate use. When everybody has an adequate level of income it becomes very difficult to use one's money to buy power."

"Yes, what about politicians? Don't they need money to run campaigns? Don't people want to be rich so they can buy the politicians?"

"Well, money helps a little but campaign publicity is very closely controlled here and, quite frankly, the way to get political power here is to work your way up inside the union movement. The surest way to kill yourself politically is to look like you've got too much money or that you can be bought."

"It sounds too good to be true. Well, O.K. How about minimum incomes?"

"The absolute minimum that a family our size would get if we both worked at the minimum wage would be, let's see \$6,200 for each adult and \$13,400 for the children--that's \$25,800. We calculated \$23,000 for basic expenses but a family of 5 could do with one less bedroom and could save on clothing as well. Besides nobody but 18-and 19-year-olds makes only \$6,200 a year.

"As for a single-parent family. Well, let's take Parta with her two kids as an example. She has a two-bedroom apartment and pays \$445 a month for rent and, say, \$500 for food. That's \$11,340 a year plus \$5600 for child care plus say \$1100 for clothing for a total of \$18,000. Her salary is about \$11,000. The kids bring in \$7200 basic plus \$5200 for child care for a total income of \$23,400. So things are tighter for her, but she still has enough to get along pretty comfortably."

"Yes, but what if she earned less or had more children or didn't work at all?" I ask.

"She'd have to live more cheaply!" says Kramla flatly. "We expect everybody to work and to be responsible for their own financial affairs. Society provides a minimum income for everyone including enough to cover the basic needs for each child and we feel people shouldn't have children if they don't want to take care of them. But you know we don't let our teenagers go out naively into the world without any idea of what it costs to live and how to manage a budget. By age 12, they start earning their own money and we expect them to start paying not only for their own leisure activities but also for their own clothing. That's why Social Security payments for older children aren't any higher than for the younger ones. In secondary school, we give them courses not only on sex education but also on family budgeting and on the economic system, in general. We make contraceptive devices easily available and we encourage young people to wait at least until age 22 or 23 before they start having children. Average age of women at birth of first child is about 25, I think."

"Do you have a problem with teenage girls getting pregnant?"

"Less and less. Actually, we encourage a certain puritanism and I don't think youngsters begin to be sexually active till they're 17 or 18. We try to keep them involved in group activities rather than encourage pairing. And, of course, then when they do begin to have sex we practically shove contraceptives into their hands. When a girl under 18 does get pregnant, we generally encourage her either to abort or to put the child up for adoption. Occasionally the girl's own parents will take the child in. In fact, with childcare so easily available and with Social Security payments, another child is not very much of a burden."

"You must have a very high birth rate, then."

"Actually not. We're really a society of individualists where people value their own time and their own activities. The average number of children born to women is something less than two-1.8 if I recall correctly--and were it not for immigration we would have negative population growth."

"But you must have cases of single parents, especially young ones who can't make a go of it--or problems of alcoholism or something. Don't you have a social welfare system at all?"

"Well, we do have a Social Aid Office with social workers. Their objective is to get people back on their feet and show them how to manage their own affairs--rather a repetition of the training they're supposed to have had in school. The social workers can authorize Social Security payments on a temporary basis. But if a person doesn't want to work and there's no medical reason for it and he/she has dependent children which he/she is not supporting properly, the children may be taken away. You see the cases are so rare that they really imply serious psychological disturbance."

"What about a woman who decides she wants to stay home and live on the kids' Social Security and childcare payments? Would you take away her children?"

"No. We do try to be tolerant of alternative life styles. Actually someone who does their own cooking and lives in non-cooperative housing without all the services could probably live quite nicely on Social Security payments--better than a Canadian woman on welfare--at least until the kids are in school. Then he/she would have to work part time

or do some arts and crafts work or something to make up for the childcare payments. A social worker will only intervene in a family if the children look malnourished or are abused in some way."

It's 11 o'clock. Kramla looks tired and Jorinth seems to have finished his preparations for tomorrow. "One last question," I say. "Would you say Genesea is a non-sexist society?"

Kramla laughs: "Well, we still have an active women's movement."

### Postscript

My main reason for writing this paper was just plain fun. It's a compromise between a science fiction short story two hundred years in the future and an academic paper on what income distribution would look like in a non-sexist society.

However, this article also grew out of the frustration I feel every time I teach my course on the Economic Aspects of the Condition of Women (Aspects Économiques de la condition féminine). In addition to basic information on the economic status of women and the mechanisms of discrimination, the course is built around discussions of existing policies and various policy proposals. Every time the class tries to discuss any particular question, two things persistently recur.

Firstly, whatever topic we start off on, we inevitably get involved in every other aspect of the woman question. If we talk about wage discrimination, we have to talk about part-time work and job segregation and sexism in education and family responsibilities and the lack of daycare centers and the repressiveness of the welfare system and sexism in the unemployment insurance program, ad infinitum. If we talk about



why housework is not counted in the GNP, we also get involved in wages for housework and sexist fiscal policy and inadequate daycare and communal living and maternity leaves and employment discrimination and.....

The second phenomenon that occurs is that the class finds it very difficult to deal with any problem within the framework of the kinds of policy proposals which are under discussion and which are "realistic." Their general conclusion is: "Well, that would be better than we have now, but it isn't going to change anything very much." Universally available, government-financed daycare centers are, of course, essential. But the women who have had experience with daycare centers haven't been all that happy with them. A center with 50 or 75 children is too large and impersonal for small children. They don't like leaving children 8, 9 and 10 hours a day and they certainly don't want daycare centers that resemble the rigid, bureaucratic machines that public schools have become. And daycare while a woman works is only a very partial answer to the double workday for which most women are still responsible, especially single women with children. Everyone admits that for many students and women with small children, part-time work is an absolute necessity, that it has tremendous advantages in terms of personal flexibility and keeping work from becoming boring and oppressive. On the other hand, they also realize that it is a way for employers to undermine work skills, to weaken unions, to get more per hour out of workers and to save on the wage bill. It's also a way to keep women marginal to the work force and to reinforce the idea that home and children are their responsibility.

In fact, reading any of the works which try to deal with the whole

of the economic situation such as the Bird Commission Report or Quebec's more recent Egalité et indépendance or even the "Rationale" for this Workshop on Women and the Canadian Labour Force confirms both the interdependence of the role of women in the family and their second-class status in the labour market as well as the fact that the whole situation is only one facet of a society which is based on general economic inequality, irrational production objectives and the marginalization of large segments of the population.

XIII

LE POUVOIR DE LA CONNAISSANCE

OU

"SI L'ON POUVAIT SE COMPRENDRE"

Johanne Deschamps





Le savoir humain est une de ces choses qui se transmet de siècle en siècle, depuis le début de l'humanité. Sous forme de traditions, de mythes, de livres, d'institutions, de contes- le savoir d'un peuple se retrouve dans ses règles sociales.... il devient sa culture.

La dynamique qui maintient et diffuse ces connaissances a plusieurs formes : c'est tantôt l'école, tantôt la famille, ce sont les lois autant que les croyances religieuses ou les pratiques scientifiques.

De ces différentes formes, on devrait s'attendre à ce qu'elles nous projettent une réflexion de la réalité. Mais tel n'est pas le cas : en effet, le savoir humain prend des distorsions désagréables quand on veut le transmettre par les institutions .... il se découpe, se spécialise, se théorise.

Faute des institutions, faute des intervenants, faute de l'idéologie qui nous gouverne ?

Ce que l'on peut constater face aux sujets qui nous concernent, i.e. l'éducation et les femmes, c'est qu'il y a discrimination. Force est d'admettre que l'éducation (cette diffusion du savoir) privilégie une minorité : au Québec en 1979, 28% à peine de la population active a poursuivi des études post-secondaires.... les autres se contentant du "savoir populaire" avec tout ce que cela comporte de péjoratif dans notre société. En ce qui a trait aux femmes, la situation est encore moins brillante !

Si donc, nous définissons la culture comme la capacité d'un groupe et/ou d'un individu à interroger son environnement, sa capacité à participer au monde en le transformant, il faudra alors admettre que seule une minorité y a droit.

Car comment interroger ou participer pleinement si l'on ne peut s'appropriier le savoir ?

Comment aussi interroger ou participer si le savoir qu'on nous transmet, déforme la réalité ?

Parce que ces questions sont devenues brûlantes d'actualité depuis les mouvements de pression des années 60-70, deux types de réponse se sont offerts :

- l'Etat a institué l'éducation aux adultes; un réseau public qui rejoint quelques 360,000 personnes, soit 8% de la population adulte totale.
- les groupes de pression ont entrepris de se former par l'éducation populaire; on dénombre près de 300 organismes d'éducation populaire au Québec rejoignant plus de 60,000 personnes annuellement.

L'expérience de Relais-Femmes de Montréal s'inscrit dans la poursuite de ce débat : les groupes de femmes ont des besoins d'information-formation pour mener à bien leurs actions et les ressources requises existent dans les institutions scolaires.

Comment concilier ces deux milieux ?

Comment faire comprendre que les connaissances enfermées dans les murs des institutions doivent être redonnées à la population pour qu'elle ait en main tous les éléments d'analyse et d'action ?

Comment enfin garder une éducation populaire autonome ?

C'est d'abord en présentant quelques réflexions sur l'école VS la réalité, que j'essaierai par la suite de dégager les éléments de notre conception de l'éducation populaire et permanente.

L'expérience de Relais-Femmes se situe à ce niveau, à l'instar des autres démarches en éducation populaire au Québec. J'y présenterai alors l'historique de la création du centre, le type de demandes que les groupes de femmes acheminent et les ressources requises à la réalisation de notre objectif.

Je conclurai en dégagant quelques pistes de recommandations pour que les termes "Démocratisation du savoir" et "promotion collective des femmes" deviennent réalité.

ECOLE VS REALITE

Plusieurs auteurs tels Roland Brunet, Paul Bélanger en passant par Paolo Freire, Antonio Gramsci, Pierre Bourdieu ont tenté de mettre le doigt sur le malaise qui entoure l'éducation aux adultes.

La formation qui est proposée aux adultes ressemble plus souvent à un mal nécessaire qu'à un projet réel d'éducation. On parle en effet de perfectionnement, de recyclage pour les adultes et rarement d'éducation permanente, continue. Ces mesures éducatives ressemblent plus du reste, à des mesures compensatoires au chômage qu'à un projet éducatif inséré dans un projet de vie.

En effet, si l'on veut parler d'éducation pour les adultes, on se rend compte rapidement de l'insuffisance des institutions scolaires : le rapport d'autorité professeur/élève, les contenus théoriques dissociés de la pratique, la certification et le principe d'élimination sont autant d'éléments qui nient la mise en valeur des ressources humaines des adultes. Et si l'on rappelle notre définition de la culture, ces éléments croyons-nous, nient à l'adulte (autant qu'à l'enfant) sa capacité d'interroger son environnement et de participer pleinement au monde qui l'entoure quotidiennement.

C'est donc à une nouvelle définition de l'éducation que nous nous heurtons; c'est l'opposition entre une conception bancaire de l'éducation et l'éducation-liberté. Ces concepts définis par Paolo Freire mettent en relief le savoir passif de nos institutions et le savoir actif des formes d'éducation populaire.

"Si l'éducateur est celui qui sait, si les élèves sont ceux qui ne savent rien, il revient au premier de donner, de livrer, d'apporter, de transmettre son savoir aux seconds. Et ce savoir n'est plus celui de "l'expérience vécue", mais celui de l'expérience racontée ou transmise. (....)

" (....) Il n'est pas étonnant alors, que dans cette conception bancaire de l'éducation, les individus soient considérés comme des êtres d'adaptation, d'ajustement. Plus les élèves s'emploient à archiver les "dépôts" qui leur sont remis, moins ils développent en eux la conscience critique qui permettrait leur insertion dans le monde comme agents de transformation, comme sujets." (1)

En prenant appui sur les différentes expériences d'éducation populaire et d'éducation institutionnelle, nous croyons que les adultes ont des exigences et des besoins auxquels les institutions n'ont pas encore répondu, malgré les efforts des services d'éducation permanente et l'implication personnelle de certains professeurs.

Une définition de ce nouveau cadre d'éducation nous apparaît d'autant plus important parce que :

- nous savons par enquête que les groupes populaires (ici, les groupes de femmes) ont des besoins pressants face à l'éducation.
- cette clientèle n'est habituellement pas rejointe par les maisons d'enseignement post-secondaire.
- cette clientèle est riche d'une expérience et de connaissances au niveau du travail, de la famille, du militantisme, elle est motivée à régler ses problèmes collectivement..... mais les institutions méprisent ce bagage de savoir.
- la société technologique dans laquelle nous évoluons appelle à de constantes mutations; comment alors l'école peut-elle ignorer le besoin de connaissances globales et continues dont l'individu a besoin pour survivre et agir ?

L'éducation populaire a réussi tant bien que mal à répondre à ces besoins; mais son activité demeure marginale si les intervenants de l'éducation n'emboitent pas le pas et refusent une stratégie globale d'éducation.

"Il ne peut y avoir éducation sans que les objectifs de cette éducation aient été pleinement définis " (2)

Dans quel intérêt le sont-ils présentement ?



## LA DEMANDE DES GROUPES DE FEMMES

" Au garage coopératif, un soir de session de formation, un militant intellectuel explique un texte sur la crise du pétrole. Un des travailleurs déclare qu'il n'y comprend rien, que c'est beaucoup trop compliqué pour lui ces papiers-là. Et le formateur de répondre : "Mais non, mais non, ce n'est pas compliqué. Tu as peur parce que c'est un texte écrit, tout simplement. Tu t'es toujours fait dire que tu ne pouvais pas faire de travail intellectuel et c'est pour cela que tu as peur. Lis-le : il s'agit simplement de vaincre ta peur et tu verras qu'il n'y a rien de difficile là-dedans".

La semaine suivante, un soir de travail mécanique sur les voitures, le militant intellectuel demande au même travailleur ce qu'il faut faire; ce dernier lui tend une clé anglaise en lui disant de travailler dans son moteur. Eberlué, le militant lui répond qu'il ne connaît rien à la mécanique et risque de massacrer son moteur." Mais non, mais non, lui répond le travailleur, ce n'est pas compliqué. Tu as peur parce que tu t'es toujours fait dire que tu ne pouvais pas faire de travail manuel. Il s'agit simplement de vaincre ta peur et tu verras qu'il n'y a rien de difficile là-dedans....."

(3)

On n'apprend pas la même chose selon que l'on passe 8 heures à faire du travail intellectuel ou du travail manuel. Dans ce sens, les demandes des groupes de femmes font constamment référence aux problèmes quotidiens et concrets des femmes qu'ils desservent. Elles font aussi référence au vécu, au savoir populaire, à la culture de la majorité.

Le savoir passif des institutions et le savoir actif de l'éducation populaire, c'est aussi la contradiction entre le savoir dit scientifique et le savoir populaire. Nous croyons que le savoir populaire est un savoir méprisé par les institutions d'enseignement..... faudrait-il penser que les revendications des groupes populaires sont aussi méprisées ?

En valorisant le savoir scientifique, les institutions ont souvent la prétention de remplacer tous les autres savoirs. Cette attitude ne peut certes tenir compte des réalités culturelles et on ne peut lui reconnaître que la fonction d'uniformiser la connaissance et ainsi nier certains processus d'évolution sociale de la population.

Si l'on y regarde de plus près, on pourrait dire que le savoir scientifique est souvent issu du savoir populaire, mais qu'il est déformé. Prenons un exemple : le savoir populaire (le savoir-faire, le savoir-vivre) est ce qui permet à une collectivité, à un individu, de vivre une situation problématique (l'analyser, se donner des moyens de la vivre mieux ou de vivre mieux)

" La perception d'un nez qui coule déclenche dans une population donnée, une tentative d'identification "Ca y est, un rhume", des idées sur les causes présumées, la durée probable, les complications éventuelles, et détermine aussi la mise en oeuvre d'un comportement attentiste ou actif. Ces comportements peuvent amener les gens à remettre totalement leur confiance à des spécialistes (rebouteux ou médecins, prêtres ou conciliateurs) ou à se prendre eux-même en charge souvent avec l'aide de proches.

Sur chaque thème quotidien, ou moins quotidien de notre existence- manger, boire, se promener, fumer, être fatigué, dormir, faire l'amour, avoir un ami, éprouver le vent, le soleil, planter, cuire, rêver, habiter, se déplacer, travailler, vieillir, souffrir ....- se déploie un savoir populaire, un imaginaire social.

Ce savoir qui tient beaucoup en des expressions typiques, des attitudes, des pratiques, il est évidemment tentant de le recueillir. Et ici, le scientifique, ou l'acteur socio-culturel, pourrait tomber dans un nouveau piège : rassembler des éléments éparpillés et rentré chez lui, les structurer intellectuellement ou pire encore, soumettre la population à des tests dont lui seul connaît les codes. Il se donnerait ainsi un pouvoir énorme sur la façon de manipuler de l'extérieur le comportement de ces gens désormais sans défense. L'idéal serait bien sûr de faire le travail avec la population elle-même pour qu'elle reste en possession de son savoir tout en le connaissant mieux. "

(4)

Si l'on compare un tel point de vue avec l'éducation donnée par le système scolaire actuel, il est étonnant de constater l'écart. En plus d'une relation maître/élève autoritaire, les écoles se permettent de donner à travers les manuels scolaires, une vision du monde qui est fascinante, irréaliste. On y retrouve pour nos jeunes des images telles que : "le soleil paraît et tout s'illumine" - "le bonheur est ici, tout près, où tout respire l'ordre et la paix " - (5)

Si l'on poursuit l'exemple pour le marché du travail, on le voit ainsi exprimé : "Si nous excellons chacun dans notre travail, nous remplissons notre rôle dans la société" - "Avant de connaître Lizette, j'allais dans la vie sans trop avoir de but précis. Depuis notre amour m'a redonné la vie. Mon patron me dit que je travaille mieux."

Certes ces exemples sont simplistes, mais ils sont la base d'une éducation auprès des jeunes, éducation qui, si elle se raffine dans les niveaux supérieurs, n'en demeure pas moins détachée de la réalité, dominante et sexiste.

La richesse, l'abondance et la paix ne sont pas le lot de la majorité; et il ne faut s'étonner si l'école finit par laisser de mauvais souvenirs ou être complètement oubliée.

Son incapacité à intégrer la réalité dans l'apprentissage, ses méthodes pédagogiques autoritaires ou magistrales, ne peuvent être garants de la formation intellectuelle et culturelle d'individus que l'on voudrait autonomes.

Une demande d'appui et de ressources de la part d'un groupe de femmes prend donc ici une nouvelle dimension : il y a refus du cadre éducatif actuel et l'on espère de nouvelles attitudes, de nouvelles réponses.

" Il ne s'agit pas de donner à l'esprit des connaissances, mais de développer ses facultés. Avant de faire de l'histoire, il faut créer dans l'esprit le réflexe historique. Avant de faire de la géographie, il faut habituer l'esprit à se situer dans l'espace. Avant d'exposer une théorie économique, il faut exercer l'esprit à passer des faits aux causes, des causes aux théories, des théories à l'action. " (6)

## Notre conception de l'éducation populaire

Il n'est pas facile pour des professionnels de l'enseignement d'approcher les groupes populaires ; on a souvent fait état de la méfiance qui y règne.

Certains groupes utilisent à l'excès "le populisme" et rejettent d'emblée tout ce qui est "intellectuel". Compte tenu de ce qui a été dit précédemment, nous ne pouvons être d'accord avec de telles positions puisque pour nous, savoir/réalité/action ne devrait faire qu'un.

Notre conception d'une nouvelle éducation, d'une démocratisation du savoir comporte toutefois des éléments de réflexion sur les attitudes des enseignants-chercheurs : le langage et le rôle de l'enseignant doivent se transformer.

Les concepts théoriques sont comme les lois : difficiles à vulgariser. Et pourtant, ils existent parce qu'existe une réalité sociale. Et cette réalité sociale est composée d'individus à qui ne reviennent pas ces analyses ou si elles reviennent, elles ne desservent alors pas leurs problèmes et demandes.

Roland Brunet explique cette situation :

" La pratique professorale qui doit davantage à l'univers de la parole qu'au principe de la réalité peut à la fois se définir comme l'exigence d'une institution coupée de la réalité et s'interpréter comme un jeu subtil de l'enseignant destiné à la défendre et à l'imposer."

Il cite aussi Jean-Claude Passeron sur le même thème :

" Producteur de biens intellectuels qui n'ont d'existence que par leur originalité, le professeur est quotidiennement entraîné par sa pratique même à créer "sa marque" ou à en donner l'illusion."

(7)

Critique dure ? Certes, mais il convient de noter qu'un univers théorique, s'il n'est lié à aucune écoute et pratique de la réalité, s'avère complètement inefficace pour faire une démarche de formation avec les groupes de femmes, les groupes populaires.



Le langage universitaire est donc un handicap quand l'on tente de redéfinir l'éducation. S'il n'est pas vulgarisé et appliqué, il va nécessairement créer des classes au sein d'un groupe : d'une part, ceux et celles qui comprennent et d'autre part, ceux et celles qui ne comprennent pas OU ceux et celles qui ont le pouvoir de la connaissance et ceux et celles qui ne l'ont pas !

On voit qu'il est facile de ramener l'image Enseignant/enseigné, Dominant/dominé...

Pour ces raisons, nous croyons que des efforts sont possibles à l'instar de cette expérience dans un syndicat de métallurgistes, où plutôt que d'exposer les théories de l'économie de marché, on a fait vivre et raconter par chaque travailleur son expérience de travail et de là, le fonctionnement de l'usine. Les données ainsi rassemblées par chaque unité de production reconstituaient l'ensemble du phénomène : arrivée des matériaux(USA), transformation(Québec), expédition du produit fini (exportations), etc.... Il est ensuite très facile de synthétiser les concepts. Cette méthode avait de plus l'intérêt que l'école n'a pas : partir du vécu, apprendre et se rappeler, passer à l'action (dans notre exemple, cela signifiait : comprendre les mise-à-pied, les coupures et le jeu des transferts de production, en un mot, savoir mieux se défendre).

C'est donc une question de langage, mais aussi une question du rôle de la personne-ressource, qu'il ne convient plus d'appeler enseignant ou chercheur, mais bien plutôt, animateur.



Quoi de mieux que l'humour pour amener la réflexion ! Si l'on considère que la nouvelle forme d'éducation suppose une autonomie plus grande de la part de l'individu, cela suppose aussi que ce sont les individus qui poseront les questions plutôt que les professeurs. Dans ce sens, les formateurs-formatrices deviennent des éléments-conseils, des orienteurs, des animateurs plutôt que des transmetteurs. Vous le sentez, c'est une dynamique complètement différente : par son contenu, par son encadrement, par sa situation géographique même ! Les bancs d'école pourraient devenir inutiles, si l'on exige par cette démarche que les personnes-ressources vivent l'expérience avec le groupe, dans leur quartier ou usine.

Cette modification du statut de professeur/chercheur est revendiquée par les groupes populaires; mais ce sont ces mêmes professeurs qui ont le pouvoir de tenter l'expérience de changement.

A cet effet, il y a déjà quelques pistes de réflexion amorcée. Citons à titre d'exemple, un extrait du rapport à la Commission de la recherche universitaire du Conseil des Universités du Québec, fait par le Comité sur les objectifs de la recherche universitaire :

" Si tant de recherches sur les problèmes d'action et de développement social ne dépassent pas le niveau de la réflexion abstraite, c'est que nombreux sont les chercheurs qui ne connaissent point de façon suffisamment approfondie les milieux qu'ils étudient. L'on aura besoin de toute évidence, en recherche orientée, d'un nouveau type de chercheur qui sache faire oeuvre utile tout en restant scientifique. L'apprentissage de cette fonction peut être difficile pour bon nombre d'universitaires que l'on a habitués jusqu'ici à exercer le rôle de "critique du système" ou "d'expert-consultant" (faux modèles de scientificité empruntés l'un à la philosophie, l'autre à l'ingénierie). (...) Nous avons la conviction que ce souci d'une plus grande efficacité ne peut compromettre aucunement, en principe, la qualité de leur recherche. Au contraire, les travaux d'application, s'ils sont bien menés, seront féconds en enseignements théoriques et pratiques, et renforceront davantage le caractère expérimental de leur discipline " (8)

Pour illustrer encore plus pratiquement notre conception de l'éducation populaire, de l'éducation renouvelée, le chapitre suivant exposera l'expérience du centre de ressources Relais-Femmes de Montréal.



IL ETAIT UNE FOIS un noyau de groupes de femmes qui, constatant qu'ils ne pourraient mener à bien tous leurs projets, décidèrent de se regrouper et de créer un centre de ressources qui conviendrait à leurs besoins. En 1980, Relais-Femmes de Montréal était né.....

C'est l'histoire de ces groupes de femmes que nous venons aujourd'hui vous raconter. Ce n'est sans doute qu'une autre histoire parmi tant d'autres, mais elle a le potentiel de grandir énormément puisqu'elle a déjà à son actif la collaboration d'une trentaine de groupes de femmes et celle des deux grandes universités francophones de la métropole.

Nous aimerions vous présenter dans un premier temps, les détails de la création du centre de ressources (i.e. ses origines, ses buts, sa structure) et dans un deuxième temps, vous exposer le travail que nous faisons. Ce point vous éclairera sur le type de demandes que nous recevons des groupes de femmes et sur les moyens que nous utilisons pour y répondre.

Enfin, je conclurai cet exposé par une série de questions sur la recherche qui est actuellement faite sur les femmes, au Québec et au Canada et par quelques pistes de recommandations.

### Historique

L'idée de mettre sur pied un centre de ressources pour les groupes de femmes est né au moment où les permanentes du Conseil du Statut de la Femme (CSF), de la Fédération des Femmes du Québec (FFQ), de l'Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM) et de l'Université de Montréal recevaient de nombreuses demandes de la part des groupes de femmes de la région de Montréal. Les demandes étaient pour de la recherche ou des personnes-ressources et l'on constatait de plus, la difficulté qu'avait les groupes de femmes à trouver une documentation pertinente à leur champ de préoccupation. Ces quelques femmes rattachées aux organismes cités plus haut, décidèrent de se réunir pour voir s'il y avait moyen de combiner leurs efforts pour répondre adéquatement à ces demandes.



Afin que le centre rencontre les besoins réels du milieu, on fit une enquête auprès d'une soixantaine de groupes de la région de Montréal, au moyen d'un questionnaire. Par la suite, on rencontra directement les permanentes d'une trentaine de groupes. Les résultats parlaient d'eux-même :

- . Les groupes de femmes disaient qu'ils avaient peu de temps ou pas assez de ressources internes pour entreprendre de la recherche et figner leurs dossiers. Leur implication dans l'action étant prioritaire, ils constataient leur incapacité, en même temps qu'un réel besoin, face à la recherche-action.
- . Les groupes disaient que l'information pertinente était difficile à trouver, inaccessible ou inexistante.
- . Les groupes manquaient l'appui des autres groupes et des ressources des autres milieux face à la recherche, à l'information et à l'organisation. On semblait d'accord pour qu'une coordination s'exerce.

C'est finalement un comité-fondateur composé de la Fédération des Femmes du Québec, du Conseil du Statut de la Femme, des deux universités francophones, du Comité de lutte pour l'avortement, de l'AFEAS (Association féminine d'éducation et d'action sociale), du Centre d'information et de Référence pour femmes, du groupe "Au Bas de l'Echelle/Rank and File", du centre pour femmes battues "Centre Refuge", de la revue féministe "Des Lutttes et des Rires", qui décident d'entreprendre les démarches d'incorporation pour créer officiellement RELAIS-FEMMES DE MONTREAL.

Ce comité propose que le centre de ressources offre quatre (4) types de services :

- . un centre de documentation
- . un réseau de personnes-ressources
- . la recherche
- . la diffusion de l'information

L'IMPLANTATION

RELAIS-FEMMES est conçu pour répondre aux demandes des groupes de femmes, mais aussi pour être contrôlé par les groupes de femmes. Afin donc d'élargir le comité-fondateur, on convoque pour mai 1980 le premier congrès de Relais-Femmes.

C'est à cette occasion que l'on votera les statuts et règlements. Rappelons brièvement les grands objectifs que les quelques 40 groupes de femmes présents ont adoptés :

1. Créer un organisme autonome à caractère public dans le but de répondre aux besoins de ressources, de recherche et d'information des groupes de femmes sur de questions relatives aux femmes.
2. Constituer un réseau de personnes-ressources aptes à donner des cours, des conférences ou des sessions d'information sur divers aspects de la condition féminine et aptes à travailler avec les groupes sur des questions précises pour lesquelles ceux-ci pourraient avoir besoin d'expertise.
3. Voir à la mise sur pied et au fonctionnement d'un centre de documentation spécialisé sur des questions relatives aux femmes.
4. Répondre aux demandes de recherche ponctuelle ; promouvoir la recherche de longue haleine de nature appliquée, axée sur les besoins des femmes. Ces recherches devront être élaborées par ou en collaboration avec les groupes qui les auront demandées.
5. Faire connaître les travaux du centre dans les différents milieux, servir de lieu d'échange et d'information, rendre accessible les résultats des recherches par divers moyens, en autre par des publications.

L'implantation de Relais-Femmes s'avère donc des plus faciles. Rares sont les groupes qui ne souscrivent pas à ces objectifs et pour résumer l'atmosphère du congrès de fondation autant que des contacts qui suivirent, je citerai la réaction verbale la plus courante : " Pour une fois qu'on nous contacte pour nous offrir des services plutôt que pour nous en demander.... eh bien, comment même penser à vous dire non ! "

Les demandes affluent à un rythme continu; la participation des groupes les plus divers (traditionnels autant que radicaux) est enthousiaste, mais les ressources sont encore trop mal connues pour que nous puissions répondre aux demandes dans un délai raisonnable. Mais avant d'aborder le problème des ressources, j'aimerais vous exposer le type de demandes que nous recevons.

Les demandes qui nous proviennent des groupes de femmes sont multiples et diversifiées, mais ne représentent toutefois que 10% du potentiel des demandes dans une région comme Montréal où l'on peut facilement dénombrier une centaine de groupes.

C'est d'ailleurs un des rôles de Relais-Femmes que de continuer à rencontrer les groupes afin de préciser leurs besoins de recherche, de personnes-ressources et de documentation, qui visent à soutenir leurs actions et mieux atteindre leurs objectifs.

Nous pouvons résumer par grands thèmes les demandes reçues, dont voici un aperçu :

Santé : - la discrimination des soins apportés aux femmes dans le réseau des services de santé  
- l'analyse du rapport infirmière-médecin

Conditions de travail :

- analyse économique des effets de la syndicalisation sectorielle dans les ghettos d'emploi féminin
- le travail à la pièce : sa réalité statistique et l'analyse du phénomène
- la loi 126 (Normes minimales de travail) : étude de ses avantages/désavantages chez les travailleuses
- salaire hommes/femmes : données récentes sur les écarts. Analyse de l'évolution
- les travailleuse immigrantes : leur nombre, les secteurs de travail. Les cours de français ont-ils changé leur condition de travail ?
- évaluation des programmes d'action positive dans les milieux où cela s'applique
- étude sur la possibilité de syndicalisation des travailleuses-euses domestiques. Les effets de la loi 126 pour cette catégorie d'employées/és. Les permis de travail et les lois d'immigration

Les garderies :

- statistiques régionales des besoins des familles
- évaluation de l'adaptation sociale de l'enfant en garderie
- la vie pédagogique de la garderie : formation des moniteurs-trices sur des aspects précis comme l'orthophonie, nutrition, enfants handicapés. Développement de nouveaux programmes
- analyse de la conception des familles face aux garderies
- la famille mono-parentale et son besoin de garderie

Troisième Age :

- étude de la vie sociale, économique, familiale des femmes du troisième âge : leurs conditions de santé et de logement

Demandes organisationnelles :

- collaboration à des chroniques pour les bulletins d'information des groupes
- guide d'information sur les lois, la santé et le travail, etc....
- animatrices-eurs, conférencières pour les réunions des groupes

Législation concernant les femmes :

- impact de la loi 89 (réforme du Code Civil sur le droit de la Famille)
- les familles mono-parentales : les problèmes de pensions alimentaires (loi 183)

Ce genre de demandes posent toutefois quelques problèmes. Citons ici Michel Lizée, responsable à l'UQAM d'un protocole d'entente entre les syndicats et l'institution.

" Nous avons aussi constater que les professeurs n'étaient pas en mesure de répondre à plusieurs demandes ou problèmes émanant des syndicats, soit parce qu'ils n'avaient jamais étudié de tels problèmes, soit parce que leur propre spécialisation était trop étroite pour les aborder, ou soit que la question traversait plusieurs champs disciplinaires dans un contexte où trop peu d'universitaires sont capables de travailler de façon interdisciplinaire. Ces difficultés nous ont incité à mieux articuler nos problématiques de recherche. " (9)



Compte de ces demandes, il s'avère important pour nous de trouver des personnes-ressources de disciplines différentes et qui sont prêtes à s'intégrer aux groupes et répondre à la demande.

Nos critères de choix pourraient correspondre à ces grandes définitions :

- compétence dans le domaine demandé
- capacité de vulgariser des concepts
- capacité de s'intégrer à un groupe, ce qui sous-entend : respect des orientations du groupe, compréhension de la dynamique interne du groupe, fonction d'écoute et de synthèse.

Nous sommes toutefois conscientes des problèmes que de telles exigences posent. Pour énumérer les plus connues, disons que :

- . la fonction sociale de l'Université n'est pas une dimension intégrée aux activités des professeurs. Bien que les administrations s'y soient engagées à divers niveaux ( Conseil des Universités, Commission d'étude sur les Universités, Conseil Supérieur de l'Education), elles ne semblent pas favoriser cette intégration en rendant difficile par exemple, le dégrèvement d'un professeur.
- . les universités ne valorisent pas en pratique les initiatives individuelles des professeurs qui s'aventurent dans l'éducation "informelle". Il suffit de penser au sort réservé à l'équipe des CAHIERS DE LA MAITRESSE D'ECOLE, qui pour avoir produit des manuels scolaires d'avant-garde et non-sexiste dans le cadre de leurs activités de recherche, se sont vus refusés une promotion et congédiés.

C'est dans ce cadre, parfois pas très ouvert, que Relais-Femmes tente d'établir le lien entre les groupes de femmes et les ressources universitaires ou collégiales qui détiennent l'expertise sur les demandes que nous recevons. Dès qu'une demande d'intervention nous est fait, nous l'acheminons aux institutions, tentons d'y trouver la ressource et coordonnons avec le groupe le projet de recherche.

## CONCLUSION

Pour résumer l'intervention de formation et d'information que nous tentons de faire, disons que c'est une question de compréhension, une question de solidarité autant qu'une question de pédagogie qui sous-tend tout un système de valeur, que nous désirons mettre de l'avant.

On pourrait d'ailleurs adopter comme maxime, cette phrase de Mao : "Nous devons enseigner aux masses avec précision, ce que nous avons reçu d'elles avec confusion " (10)

Bref, nous croyons à l'éducation comme instrument de changement, comme instrument de défense. Nous croyons à la recherche dans la mesure où elle répond à des demandes de groupes et qu'elle est largement diffusée.

Dans ces optiques qui nous gouvernent, nous avons trouvé des ressources universitaires et collégiales qui s'enthousiasmaient de travailler dans ce cadre .... et nous le croyons possible.

La seule ombre au tableau est que ces ressources sont actuellement trop minimes et que les moyens pour convaincre la majorité des professeurs/chercheurs ne sont pas nécessairement à notre portée.

Peut-être sont-ils plutôt entre vos mains ?

Compte tenu de l'évolution de l'éducation populaire, il est certain que les groupes populaires autant que le nôtre continueront de faire des pressions sur le milieu de l'éducation pour obtenir des conditions décentes d'existence. Mais nous croyons aussi qu'un processus de la sorte ne peut s'opérer sans la participation des principaux intervenants. Dans ce sens et bien humblement, nous désirons vous faire part de certaines suggestions.

Nous ne croyons pas que d'importantes transformations se concrétiseront sans :

- . L'ouverture des ressources institutionnelles face à une redéfinition de l'éducation et du savoir
- . La disponibilité des ressources au travail des groupes de femmes
- . La lutte du corps professoral pour faire reconnaître dans leur institution, la fonction sociale de l'Université (Cegep, etc...)
- . La lutte du corps professoral pour obtenir des cours pratiques (stages) dans le milieu. Cet item va toutefois de pair avec un encadrement professoral étroit et si possible, avec l'existence d'un centre de jonction comme Relais-Femmes
- . La détermination du corps professoral à publiciser les recherches en cours et diffuser l'information qu'il possède. Canaliser cette information dans une partie identifiée de la bibliothèque et dans un centre de documentation féministe ou populaire.

Qu'est-il à dire encore, sinon que vos travaux présentés à la conférence, sont déjà en dépôt à notre centre de documentation et espérer que les autres recherches nous parviendront et auront un tant soit peu rejoint certains de nos objectifs !

Bonne lutte,  
Solidairement,

Johanne Deschamps  
Coordonnatrice  
Relais-Femmes de Montréal

- (1) Paolo Freire, Pédagogie des opprimés, PCM, Paris, 1974, page 52.
- (2) Bertrand Schwartz in Roland Brunet, Une école sans diplôme, Cahiers du Québec, Hurtubise HMH, Montréal, 1976, page 37.
- (3) Inconnu, rapporté par Monique Ouellette dans son article Pédagogie militante : un regard sur deux démarches en éducation populaire IN La revue internationale d'action communautaire, Montréal, Printemps 1980, page 101.
- (4) P. Thielen et M. Hotat, Boutiques de science et troc de savoirs, in La revue internationale d'action communautaire, Montréal, Automne 1979, pages 42-43.
- (5) Extraits de manuels scolaires de la CECM, tels "La lecture quotidienne" de Gisèle Beaudet-"Le français quotidien" de Andrée Filion-Fontaine-"Fiches de français 104" de la CECM.
- (6) Benigno Cacérès, Histoire de l'Education populaire, Seuil, Paris, 1964, page 160.
- (7) Jean-Claude Passeron in Roland Brunet, idem, page 57.
- (8) Comité sur les objectifs de la recherche universitaire, cité par Michel Lizée dans son article Ressources universitaires et travailleurs syndiqués : l'expérience d'un programme conjoint universités-syndicats in La revue internationale d'action communautaire, Printemps 1980, page 69.
- (9) Michel Lizée, idem, page 67.
- (10) Mao Tsé Toung, propos recueillis par André Malraux pour son livre Antimémoires, Gallimard, Paris, 1967, page 531 in Paolo Freire, idem, page 78.



XIV

WOMEN AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE: REPORT OF A DELPHI STUDY

Naomi Hersom

and

Lucy Scott



## WOMEN AND THE CANADIAN LABOUR FORCE: A modified Delphi study

The study was undertaken in preparation for a Research Workshop on Women and the Canadian Labour Force sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Because a limited number of participants could be accommodated in the Workshop, a Delphi poll was undertaken to seek ideas and recommendations for research priorities from a much broader sample of interested and informed persons.

### The Delphi Method

The Delphi method (Helmer, 1966) was developed originally as a means of forecasting the future, but it has also been refined as a means of probing the priorities held by individuals. The method assumes that experts will make conjectures based upon knowledge, that rational judgments will be based upon adequate information, and that shared information will allow a group of individuals as a whole to deal with some very complex problems. The particular procedures designed by Helmer were intended to ensure that respondents would not be swayed in making initial judgments by the presence of others in a group setting. At a later stage, respondents are given an opportunity to take the ideas and forecasts of others into account when assigning priorities, but they need not do so.

A complete Delphi study typically consists of four "rounds" or sets of communications between the investigators and the respondents. The first round is an invitation to the panel of experts to submit statements related to the subject of the study. This is followed by a second round asking the respondents to give scaled responses to the collected statements. The third round contains information about the entire panel's responses to each statement and respondents are invited to make comments where their responses differ significantly from those of the majority. Finally, the responses and comments are analyzed and the results shared with the panel. For the purposes of this particular study the procedures were modified by deleting the third round because of time factors.

## INTRODUCTION

When in doubt take no action whatsoever unless and until sufficient evidence is uncovered to warrant an action (Hostrop, 1973:67).

An interest in anticipating the future has gripped the attention of people for hundreds of years. Star gazing, palm reading, peering into the crystal ball, soothsayers, wizards, magicians, oracles and visions are but a few of the many methods people have employed to predict or forecast future events. In the 1950's, yet another forecasting technique was developed by the Rand Corporation in the United States known as the "Delphi" technique appropriately named after the oracle in Delphi, Greece.

It is the intent of this paper to discuss the use of the Delphi technique in social science research, and its application to a study on women and the Canadian labour force. The paper contains a review of some of the current Delphi literature, a discussion of the design and method of data collection used in this Delphi study, a report of the statistical data compiled during the study, and some implications and recommendations for research directions.



## PURPOSE OF THE PAPER - PROBLEM AND BACKGROUND

In the early spring of 1980, the Social Sciences Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) approved a request to initiate a research workshop on women and the Canadian labour force as one of a series of such workshops intended to provide information needed to assign priorities for funding research activities. The objectives of the research workshops by SSHRC were to:

- (1) identify the present state of knowledge in the social sciences in areas relevant to Canadian needs;
- (2) to formulate research directions; and
- (3) to specify major research thrusts.

A grant of \$25,000 was subsequently awarded for the purpose of this workshop. The budget was based on the participation of thirty participants selected from across Canada.

In March, 1980, the rationale for the workshop was articulated and the framework for the workshop was developed. The purpose of the workshop was described as follows:

- (1) to establish a structure within which researchers from various disciplines who are working on various topics can develop the relevance of their work to the characteristics of the female labour force;
- (2) to locate the known characteristics of the female labour force and of a segregated labour market in the institutional bases which provide its underlying organization;

- (3) to integrate change as a topic in all aspects of discussion;  
and
- (4) to ground dialogue in the actual social, political and economic relations which are addressed by the various disciplines using different conceptual methodological strategies (Smith and Hersom, 1980).

In order to assist in the task of identifying some of the priorities for future research, it was decided that a Delphi study would be employed. The study was designed:

- (1) to identify a large number of researchers and other concerned Canadians from as broad a cross-section as possible;
- (2) to invite them to identify specific items related to the research topics presented in the proposal;
- (3) to analyze responses in order to discover commonly held concerns;
- (4) to gain some consensus about the relative importance of these issues by mailing the results of the analysis to the respondents and inviting further comments; and
- (5) to collate the responses and make these available to workshop participants.

Since the time frame allowed only four months for the development and execution of the Delphi study, it was decided therefore to use the term "modified" to describe the Delphi study, and to limit the number of rounds to two (see Appendix A, Time Line).

Evolution of the Delphi

For thousands of years, people have searched for concrete answers to nebulous and philosophical questions such as, what is "truth", what happens to "life after death", what can we find out about the future? Each civilization has presented plausible answers to these questions. Plato, for example, writes about "truth" in his Republic, the Egyptians constructed pyramids with the belief that appropriate accommodation was required for the after life. Greek royalty paid great sums of money for the privilege of consulting the Greek god Apollo at the oracle in the Temple at Delphi (Lyons, 1979). Over the years, the concept of the "future" developed and evolved. In 1907, Gilfillan began a study of forecasting methodologies. In 1944, Flechtheim coined the word "futurology" to describe the study of the future. Hencley (1947) defines forecasting as:

a system of quantified estimates of change and alternatives, that is, a prediction of the timing, character, and degree of change of the parameters of process of something according to a specified system of reasoning (p. 11).

Today, people use astrology as one way to predict the future. Forecasting allows us to suspend our disbelief and to speculate on future possibilities. By the mid 1970's, forecasting or futurology was considered by some to be "more of an art than a science" (Linstone, Turoff, 1975). In North America, the study of futurology has been incorporated in the curriculum at the college and/or university level. With the

rapid development of technologies, new methods for predicting the future evolved. Data information can be computerized and a system of logic can be applied at arriving at a forecast.

The modern concept of the Greek concept of forecasting was first applied in the 1950's by Olaf Helmer of the Rand Corporation. He used the Delphi technique to:

...obtain opinions about urgent defence problems such as forecasting defence technology needs and collecting opinions about future dates of occurrence of social and technological advances (Hencley, 1974:97).

According to Turoff, Project Delphi was a study by the Rand Corporation to study the application of:

...expert opinions to the selection, from the point of view of a Soviet strategic planner, of an optimal U. S. industrial target system to the estimation of the number of A-bombs required to reduce the munitions output by a prescribed amount (Debons, 1974:234).

Since the development of this forecasting technique in the 1950's by the Rand Corporation, the Delphi technique has been utilized in many studies.

Murray (1979) cites Dalkey and Helmer who applied the technique to a study involving estimates of nuclear attack results. Gordon and Helmer in 1964 reported on the first attempt to forecast technological achievements.

The Delphi technique has been used in the university setting to determine future university patterns and trends. Recently, in Seattle, the Delphi technique was used for a regional metro planning project. Also in the United States, the Air Force used the technique for developing a consensus among a group of experts concerning a forecast of the international situation between the years 1966-2015 (Pallante, 1976:87).



Weaver (1971) cites a study done in 1965, known as the Kettering project. "The purpose was to compile a list of preferred goals for possible federal funding" from a panel of educational experts in various fields relating to education.

Another study by Cyphert and Gant used the Delphi to elicit preference statements from educators of the School of Education at the University of Virginia (Weaver, 1971:268).

The technique has been extensively used in education and health settings, for gathering current and historical events, evaluating possible budget allocations, delineating the pros and cons associated with political policy options, developing causal relationships among economic or social phenomena, distinguishing and clarifying real and perceived human motivation, exposing priorities of personal values and social goals (Debons, 1974:226).

Hencley (1974) cites the following uses of the Delphi:

- (1) to form an image of the future;
- (2) to forecast probable differential effects of actions called by alternative policies; and
- (3) to make preference evaluation among alternative consequences.

Further to that he says:

. . . although Delphi was originally intended as a forecasting tool, its more promising educational application seems to be in the following areas: (a) a method for studying the process of thinking about the future, (b) a pedagogical tool or teaching tool which forces people to think about the future in a more complex way than they ordinarily would, and (c) a planning tool which may aid in probing priorities held by members and constituencies of an organization (Hencley, 1974:102).

It appears that since the birth of the Delphi technique thirty years ago, there have been hundreds of studies executed using this technique to predict the future. At the same time, there have also been many Delphi variations applied to this particular technique. It became abundantly clear from surveying the Delphi literature that the Delphi technique is still in its infancy. The Delphi technique is one of many attempts to find a way of predicting the future, and the success of this particular technique has not yet been confirmed. "Despite these many applications, Delphi still lacks a completely sound theoretical base" (Helmer, 1975). The lack of a completely sound theoretical base is reflected in the inadequacies of the Delphi technique. However, the Delphi does have certain strengths.

#### Characteristics of the Delphi

Delphi . . . operates on the principle that several heads are better than one in making subjective conjectures about the future, and that experts . . . will make conjectures based upon rational judgement and shared information rather than merely guessing, and will separate hope from likelihood in the process (Weaver, 1971:268).

Linstone and Turoff (1975) describe the technique in the following way:

Delphi may be characterized as a method for structuring a group communication process so that the process is effective in allowing a group of individuals, as a whole, to deal with a complex problem (p. 3).

Instead of arriving at a group opinion in a face to face discussion, consensus is derived by controlled feedback from an anonymous group of respondents. This method is intended to prevent the influence of coercion on the part of other panel members.

. . . by using a statistical group opinion, group pressure toward conformity is further reduced, and probably more important, the opinion of every member is reflected in the group response (Hencley, 1974:99).

Lyons (1979) describes the main characteristics of a Delphi as possessing the following:

- (a) economic use of experts' time
- (b) initial anonymity of response
- (c) iterative or repeated consideration of responses
- (d) tendency towards convergency and consensus
- (e) scope for divergence and creative thought

Helmer (Murray, 1979) suggests the following as three main characteristics of a Delphi: (1) anonymity of the panel members, (2) iteration, and (3) controlled feedback.

(1) Anonymity of the panel members. A workable panel usually consists of not less than fifty respondents, but could comprise four to five hundred respondents. The panel members are carefully chosen according to their discipline and expertise. Helmer (Murray, 1979) raises the question of what constitutes an expert. He says:

. . . there are difficulties in defining qualifications and measuring relative performance of experts. That is, it is far from obvious what we mean - or should mean when we say that somebody is an expert.

Helmer also suggests that all panel members will not be experts in all areas of inquiry. Turoff (Murray, 1979) states that the term "expert is a scientifically overstretched and untenable term". And that often participants are chosen because they are simply available, or because they are known for having a reputation in a certain area. The final decision of who will constitute a panel, therefore, becomes an arbitrary decision made by the Delphi investigator. The panel members remain anonymous to each other throughout the study, and are only referred to by a respondent number.

(2) Iteration. A Delphi study frequently includes four rounds.

A round is the method of communication between the respondents and the investigator. The first round is normally used as a needs assessment. Rounds two, three and four contain collated statements of opinions regarding the previous statements. Respondents are asked additional questions regarding the statements, and the additional information is added in the next round. Statistical analysis of round four is returned to all participating respondents.

Judd (1978) describes a typical Delphi procedure as follows:

- (1) The initial statements are derived from the panel members (Round I).
- (2) The panel gives scaled responses for each statement (Round II).
- (3) The panel gives scaled responses to each statement again, having considered statistical information on the entire panel's responses on each statement (Round III). Individual panel members whose responses differ significantly from the majority are given an opportunity to make comments about their responses.
- (4) The panel responds a third time to each statement, this time considering other panelists' responses and the reasons for their responses (Round IV).
- (5) The responses and comments are analyzed to determine the results of the study (p. 21).



(3) Controlled feedback. After receiving Round I, the investigator collates the statements and then asks the respondents to estimate the probability of an event occurring. The third Round allows the respondent to respond to the collated data of Round II and, at the same time, to add any further statements if their particular statement is extremely high or low in comparison with the other respondents. In Round IV, the responses are once again assembled and panelists are asked to refine and revise their answers further. Finally, the data are collated and the statistical analysis is returned to the panel members.

### Problems of the Delphi

The problems arising with the use of the Delphi method can be found with the participants themselves and with the procedures employed during the Delphi study.

Participants. Sometimes the "expert" is not the best person to make a prediction as he/she is too close to the subject and can therefore sometimes distort the question and answer.

There are difficulties in defining and measuring relative performance of experts. That is, it is far from obvious what we mean - or should mean - when we say that somebody is an expert (Murray, 1971:155).

When the respondent is a specialist in the subject, he/she may become confused with what can be termed "hope" and what may be termed "probable" events or changes.

The non-respondents should also be taken into account. For example, are the non-respondents not interested in responding because of the topics, or is the time requirement too much, or do they not choose to participate further because they disagree with the process or content? At the same

time, the addition of new members to the panel may also lead to skewed results. The necessity of stable panel members appears essential with this technique.

Communicating by mail takes a long time, and may cause concern to both respondent and investigator. Respondents may feel the stress of adhering to a date schedule, but on the other hand the investigator requires the material returned for the purpose of data analysis.

Respondents can sometimes write loose, ambiguous answers and become impatient to get the job over with, and therefore answers may be given without proper due care and attention.

Turoff (1975) points out that often long range forecasts (a decade or more) can tend to be somewhat pessimistic in nature, while short range forecasting is usually more optimistic. There appears, therefore, a gap between the two extremes. This gap provides for and invites respondents to be creative and innovative in their answers.

The investigator. There is the possibility of distorting the respondents' statements.

Unwanted question ambiguity must be recognized as a problem but one not necessarily unique to a Delphi based exercise. Delphi does, however, present a danger that unwanted ambiguity in an exercise may be masked and not recognized (Murray, 1971:155).

Murray also suggests that the investigator must be aware of his/her own biases. He says: "The threat is not unique to Delphi but perhaps the methodology provides a somewhat more convenient means for deception" (p. 156).

The investigator should carefully scrutinize the items received in Round I, and eliminate the less pertinent items. He/she should take

into account the time interval required between each round, so that respondents are given adequate time to return the questionnaires. The format of questionnaires should be carefully planned.

- Linstone and Turoff (1975) cite the following possible common reasons for the failure of a Delphi as:

- (1) Imposing monitor views and preconceptions of a problem upon the respondent group by over specifying the structure of the Delphi and not allowing for the contribution of other perspectives related to the problem
- (2) Assuming that Delphi can be a surrogate for all other human communications in a given situation
- (3) Poor techniques of summarizing and presenting the group response and ensuring common interpretations of the evaluation scales utilized in the exercise
- (4) Ignoring and not exploring disagreements, so that discouraged dissenters drop out and an artificial consensus is generated
- (5) Understanding the demanding nature of a Delphi and the fact that the respondents should be recognized as consultants and properly compensated for their time if the Delphi is not an integral part of their job function (p. 6).

### Two Types of Delphi

Debons (1974) writes of two types of Delphi developed and currently in use.

Delphi exercise. The Delphi exercise is the paper and pencil version whereby questionnaires are sent out and returned. The material is summarized by the investigator and the results develop a new questionnaire. This method is also known as the "conventional" Delphi.

Delphi conference. The Delphi conference replaces the single investigator or team by a computer which is programmed to carry out the

group results round by round. This method is also known as the "real-time" Delphi.

### The Huckfeldt Model

The model as explained by Huckfeldt posed six questions over five rounds and is summarized as follows:

- |           |  |
|-----------|--|
| Round I   | Asks what are the possible changes that might take place?  |
| Round II  | Asks what will be the impact of a change if it occurs, and what is the likelihood of the change occurring?   |
| Round III | Poses these same questions again, this time with feedback of the Round II results.   |
| Round IV  | Asks the same questions as in Rounds II and III, and poses the additional question: In what period will the change occur?  |
| Round V   | Repeats the question introduced in Round IV with feedback and adds two non-Delphi questions: Should this change occur, and who will most affect this change? (Popper, 1972:13) |

Following Round II, the data are summarized. Each panel member's responses are filed showing the median, the interquartile range (or inner 50% of the panel's responses). In addition, any other information concerning the panelist's responses can be filed readily using a computer program as part of the data bank.

Round III asks respondents to make comments on other respondents' comments or to comment further on their own opinions if they differ



greatly from the majority. The results are then summarized, and space is provided for further comment.

The fourth round includes the same questions, using the same type of feedback statistics as used in Round II, however, additional question(s) can be added at this point if desired.

Round V is similar to Rounds III and IV, again with an additional one or two questions added, relevant to the feedback. Statistical analysis of the results is mailed to the respondents.

The format as designed by Huckfeldt seemed most appropriate to use as a model for this particular Delphi study because it posed questions which seemed relevant to the research information required in the area of women and the Canadian labour force.

Research Questions

Three questions were posed asking respondents to rate each statement on a ten point scale. The questions were:

- (1) If this change were to take place what would be the impact on women in the Canadian labour force?  
(none . . . very great)
- (2) What is the likelihood that this change will occur?  
(impossible . . . virtually certain)
- (3) Would you recommend that research be undertaken in this area?  
(low priority . . . high priority)

It was anticipated that the results of the ratings would be interpreted according to the following hypothetical relationships:

- (1) high impact of this change on women, plus high likelihood of occurrence, suggests that research is needed as information to solve the problem represented by this item;
- (2) high impact of this change on women, plus low likelihood of occurrence indicates that research should receive high priority;
- (3) low impact of this change on women, plus high likelihood of occurrence suggests that the role of research will be related to gathering information and monitoring developments relating to this item; and
- (4) low impact of this change on women, plus low likelihood of occurrence suggests that research on this item be assigned a low priority.

Several items were pilot tested to see if they could be answered by using the three questions as stated and to examine the cross-relationships that resulted.

### The Panel

The initial panel was selected by means of a Social Sciences Humanities Research Council of Canada list compiled by SocScan at The University of Western Ontario. The printout contained the names, occupations, addresses, degrees conferred and publications of those persons who have identified research interest in areas affecting women in the Canadian labour force. These people represent a variety of disciplines and job areas: sociology, psychology, economics, law, history, status of women groups, labour and business. They are employed by Federal or Provincial governments or by universities. The list included a total of 167 names. It was apparent that the greater number of participants appeared to live and work either on the West coast or in central Canada; that is, Ontario and Quebec. There were fewer representatives from the prairie and Atlantic provinces. A cursory reading of the SocScan printout showed a predominance of men involved in topics and issues concerning policy and economic disparities of women in the labour force, while women were primarily involved in the areas of sociology and psychology as they related to women and the labour force.

Additional Delphi panel respondents were added. These were identified through various publications or on the basis of office held. For example, some names were added from various representative women's groups across Canada. They included:

- (1) Twenty-six representatives from the Women's Resource Centres
- (2) Six representatives from the Status of Women Groups
- (3) One representative from the Provincial Status of Women's Group
- (4) Three representatives from the Single Mothers' list
- (5) Three representatives from the Pension's list
- (6) One representative from the Elderly Women's list
- (7) Eight representatives from the Government Offices for Women
- (8) Nine representatives from the Provincial Government Offices for Women
- (9) Twenty-three representatives from Women in the Labour Force
- (10) Eleven representatives from the Human Rights Commission
- (11) Six representatives from the Federal Government Offices for Women
- (12) Nineteen representatives from the National Status of Women
- (13) One representative from the Rural Women's list
- (14) One representative from the Immigrant Women's list
- (15) One representative from the Native Women's list

Names and addresses from these lists were double checked for possible duplication which could appear in either the SocScan listing or various government lists.

#### Round I

A covering letter of invitation was sent to all potential panel respondents; in addition, a short covering statement was sent to groups inviting them to identify a respondent for the Delphi study. There were



401 questionnaires distributed in Round I. Each respondent was asked to identify five future trends, issues, or changes which they might foresee as relating to women and the Canadian labour force.

A package of Round I materials included:

- (1) Delphi Study, Round I (See Appendix B)
- (2) address form
- (3) accompanying letter
- (4) a stamped and self addressed return envelope
- (5) a memorandum to groups inviting them to participate and nominate a respondent

Round I statements were received by July 10th, 1980. The total number of Round I studies received was 104 (26%) (See Table I).

Table 1

## Analysis of Round I and Round II Distribution

	Distributed	Received	Percent
Round I	401	104	26
Round II	104	76	73

Round II

Table 2 indicates the breakdown of male/female respondents in Round II.

I identified the following categories from the statements received in response to Round I.

- (1) women and politics
- (2) discrimination and harassment
- (3) family style(s)
- (4) effects of sociological changes
- (5) effects of technological changes
- (6) issues related to immigrant women
- (7) equal pay for equal work
- (8) women entering the labour force
- (9) day care
- (10) unionization
- (11) quality of work life
- (12) volunteerism
- (13) networks

The categories were rechecked to ensure they did not overlap.

The items assigned to each category were then reviewed to be sure that they had been placed in the appropriate category. Since there were several similar statements within each category, it was decided to write a single summary statement. Six independent judges undertook the task of summarizing the statements. In order to decrease a biased interpretation, work was done in groups of two, changing the groups on the second day. There were 273 statements in total. Two other raters refined the total number

of statements, finally reducing the number to a workable number of 80 statements. This task was completed by asking the questions:

- (1) do the statements make sense?
- (2) which statements should be retained?
- (3) are revisions necessary?
- (4) what will be the form for each question?

Following this process statements were eliminated, thereby reducing the number of statements to 78.

The next task concerned the three types of questions asked concerning each of the statements (See Appendix C - Round II).

It was decided to randomly compile the statements. Round II was mailed on July 15th, 1980. The package included:

- (1) Round II questionnaire
- (2) accompanying letter
- (3) a stamped and self addressed return envelope

There were 104 Round II questionnaires mailed to respondents who had participated in Round I, and two extra were mailed to people who had not received the materials for Round I in time, but had expressed a wish to participate in Round II. One participant requested and received a French translation of Round II.

There were 76 (73%) Delphi Round II questionnaires returned. After the data had been collated, six additional forms were returned which could not be included in the analysis.



Table 2

## Round II Respondents by Sex

	Male	Female
Total	22	54
Percent	29	71

A Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 8 was used to collate the data received from Round II. There were 446 cards used to key punch the data, plus additional cards to key punch the command and procedure cards. In addition to the statistical analysis of the data, three cross tables were tabulated showing the breakdown of participants by:

- (1) sex by province
- (2) sex by occupation
- (3) sex by area of interest

Table 3 shows the breakdown of the participants by sex and area of interest. The majority of participants were from British Columbia and Ontario, with no male participants identified from Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, and the Yukon. No women participants lived in Newfoundland (See Table 4, Sex by Province).

Analysis of the data showed that a greater number of both female and male participants were employed at the university level (See Table 5, Sex by Occupation). Analysis of jobs by area of work indicated that 17% of the women were involved in the area of issues and work related to the status of women, and 13% in the area of sociology. Men were involved in the areas of labour, business, education, economics and sociology.

For a complete analysis of the breakdown of respondents' answers, see Appendix D, Round II Analysis.

Table 3

Cross table of Participants - Sex by Area of Interest

	Sociology	Economics	Status of Women	Education	History	Labour	Business	Arts & Science	Other
Male	5	3		3		3	4		4
Female	10	2	13	8	3	8	1	2	7
Total	15	5	13	11	3	11	5	2	11
Percent	20	6	17	14	4	14	6	3	14

Table 4

## Cross Table of Participants - Sex by Province

	B. C.	Alberta	Sask.	Manitoba	Ontario	Quebec	N. S.	P.E.I.	N. B.	Yukon	Nfld.	Other
Male	3	5	1		8	3	1				1	
Female	12	3	2	2	25	1	4	1	2	1		1
Total	15	8	3	2	33	4	5	1	2	1	1	1
Percent	20	10	4	3	43	5	6	1	3	1	1	1



Table 5

## Cross Table of Participants - Sex by Occupation

	Provincial Government	Federal Government	University	Other
Male	2	3	17	
Female	11	9	27	7
Total	13	12	44	7
Percent	17	16	58	9

Findings and Discussion

Statements which were weighted high in impact of change, high likelihood of occurrence and high research priority were:

- (1) There will be more flextime available to help women pursue fulltime careers.
- (2) Unions will pay more attention to women's issues: specifically child care and maternity leave.
- (3) There will be continued subtle forms of discrimination (sexual and other) towards women despite legislation.
- (4) Women will continue to earn less than men as a group and hold less power in the work place.

Several topics related to these statements are:

- (1) dual careers
- (2) education
- (3) day care
- (4) women's issues relating to discrimination, health, and networks
- (5) unions
- (6) labour
- (7) management
- (8) Federal legislation
- (9) immigration

Dual career families. There appeared to be a general consensus among the respondents that continued increase in the number of women entering the work force will require that men assist in an equal arrangement with household and child care rearing responsibilities.

Education. There appeared to be a high agreement that women in greater numbers will pursue part time and full time post secondary education and that more women will require career re-training.

Day Care. There appeared to be a general consensus that there will be greater need for day care facilities both on and off site.

Women's Issues. There appeared to be a general concern that there should be greater attention paid in the area of violence and discrimination toward women, physical and emotional stress created by the work area, maternity leave, and networks.

Unions. The role of women in trade unions will become more significant.

Labour. It appeared that more women will be entering traditionally male dominated occupations, however, at the same time women will continue to earn less, thereby creating the need to devise an instrument capable of measuring "work of equal value".

Management. There was general consensus that more women will move into management positions.

Federal legislation. There was general agreement among participants that the Federal government will become more involved in legislating affirmative action programs and that new legislation concerning women's issues will emerge.

Immigration. There was general concern that attitudes toward immigrant women be changed, and that training programs for immigrant women will have to be improved.

The statements rated by respondents as areas of high impact of change, but low likelihood of occurrence were:

- (1) Female work-life patterns will become reorganized through organized labour, child rearing years will be equivalent to work experience.
- (2) Increased numbers of women in the labour force will lead to a greater politicization of women in general, resulting in challenges being made to the present hierarchical and centralized bureaucratization of the work world.
- (3) Housework will be considered as part of the GNP.
- (4) There will be no major improvements for working women anywhere in the Western world.
- (5) The women's movement will be undermined in Canada and North America, and will probably go underground by the late 1980's.
- (6) Sex roles will become androgynous.

Comment. A few respondents rated items high in impact on women, and high in research priority, while other respondents rated items high in impact of change, but low in likelihood of occurrence. For example, two items rated high in impact on women and high research priority were:

- (1) There will be no major improvements for working women anywhere in the Western world.
- (2) There will be a trend toward decreased prestige/salary for professions which are accessible for women.

and two items rated high in impact of change, but low in likelihood of occurrence were:



(1) There will be wages for housewives.

(2) Housework will be considered as part of the GNP.

It might be possible that although some respondents felt an issue would have an important impact on women in the Canadian labour force, the likelihood of this event occurring was low, and hence they judged either that research could not solve the problem, or that it was of little use directing research energies along these lines.

The findings of the Delphi study have identified conditions and issues requiring the attention of researchers in sociology, economics, business, law, education, labour, management, immigration, status of women, science and technology.

### Education

If women are going to pursue further education on a part time or full time basis, then universities must look at other possible opportunities which would enable and encourage women to undertake such pursuits. Some of the questions which could be addressed in this area are:

- (1) What new life skills are needed when an education has been interrupted by family needs?
- (2) How can programs be adapted to the needs of women?
- (3) What day care facilities are required in order to accommodate the children of these women?
- (4) What particular new areas of study need to be implemented and/or adapted for women of today?
- (5) How can the institutions of higher learning adopt and adapt non sexist language, behaviours and attitudes?
- (6) How can the services of personal and career counselling become more applicable for women?
- (7) In what ways (other than scholarship and bursary) can women be financially assisted?

- (8) What additional health and physical facilities are required?
- (9) What financial problems are incurred when women return to further their education?
- (10) What effect may returning to school have on a couple in a dual' career?

### Labour

If more women are going to enter the labour force, research should address still further the area of equal pay for equal work. This might include research on indicators used to measure equal pay for equal work and the possibility of incorporating more flextime and part time work from clerical to management levels of work.

### Integrated Services

If more women are going to enter the labour force on a full time or part time basis, further research could be directed towards the problems women encounter in health care (both on and off site), child care facilities, housing facilities, and family law.

### Legislation

Current 1980 statistics continue to show that even though more women are achieving a higher education, "a college diploma or university degree is no guarantee that a woman will achieve equality in the labour force".

In the late seventies, Canada's female post secondary graduates had not reached the same level in the world of work as men with similar academic qualifications. Women continued to occupy job ghettos - professional and other-wise (Devereaux, M.S. and E. Reichnitzer, 1980:7).

Similarly, women are still earning less than men. At the end of May 1978, Statistics Canada state that "only one-third of the women with master's degrees were in the \$20,000 plus income bracket, in contrast to more than half the men" (Devereaux, M.S. and E. Rechnitzer, 1980).

In view of this information, research could be directed toward ways to improve legislation regarding equal opportunities and equal pay for women.

### Management

Since it was the general consensus among respondents that more women will be moving into management, research both at the provincial and federal levels could ensure recognition of women as they pursue career goals. Recent literature on women in management states that not only do women have a responsibility to articulate career goals, but management has the added responsibility of encouraging and fostering opportunities for women with potential management capabilities. This is based in part because

. . . management structure of most organizations (and therefore, allocation of power) is based on male values and prerogatives, which has created role conflict within many women - i.e. uncertainty about their abilities, personal role, and success as a manager (Schwartz E. and W.B. Wartjen, 1976:21-22).

### Immigration

It appeared from the study that attitudes, training, and job opportunities toward immigrant women should improve. Research into training programs could investigate not only the problems of how these women can learn a trade or skill but, more importantly, how they could include training in English as a second language. Increased facility



with the English language would provide women with the power and means needed to seek appropriate employment.

### Women's Issues

There is still concern that more emphasis should be directed toward research on violence and sexual harassment. The written law and the execution of the law are often in antithesis. It is therefore not simply the investigation of new equitable laws, but also the execution of such laws in a fair and just manner which needs further investigation.

There also appears the need to investigate the area of women's networks as a means of fostering women's growth and potential. Networking provides both emotional and strategic support systems in addition to providing role models and mentors from whom women can learn behaviours and strategies.

### Child Care

Both private industry and government need to address the problems of providing adequate child care facilities (both on and off site) for the children of their employees. Financial care assistance and support, plus the implementation of professional child care programs is required in order to accommodate the increasing number of children of working mothers.

It became apparent throughout the analysis of this data that no one discipline can solve the research concerns in the areas identified by this study. Instead, the problems are eclectic in nature and, as such, should be examined from a multi-disciplinary perspective. In order to alleviate and ameliorate problems and concerns of women in the Canadian

labour force, educational institutions, government (both Federal and Provincial), women's groups, labour, unions, law, and health care facilities should work together in theory and in practice, receiving feedback from specific disciplines in the social sciences. The addition of women in previously male dominated jobs creates the need for a societal adjustment and re-evaluation of curriculum, program of studies, and social attitudes. The economic and emotional benefits which women incur is a positive societal change and an advancement without which society as a whole can not progress.

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## APPENDIX

Delphi Poll

## Round I

As you contemplate the future of Women and the Canadian Labour Force, what do you foresee as some events, trends, issues or changes which are likely to emerge in the decade ahead or shortly thereafter?

List not more than five such items. Please try to express your thoughts as concisely as possible.

## Round II

For each of the 78 statements below, answer the following three questions:

1. If this change were to occur, what would be the impact on women in the Canadian labour force (very great, none, etc.)?
2. What is the likelihood that this change will occur (virtually certain, impossible, etc.)?
3. Would you recommend that research be undertaken in this area (low priority, high priority)?

Express your answers on a scale of 1 to 10.

- 
1. The proportion of women in administrative and managerial positions will increase.
  2. There will continue to be an increasing need for management training programs for women.
  3. Women in the public service sector will become increasingly unionized.
  4. Although women are improving their level of education there will be limited access to better jobs.
  5. More women will be appointed to public office, including the courts.
  6. There will be a breakdown of sex-stereotypical occupational streaming and a significant entry of women into the traditional male trades and technological occupations.



7. The purchase of commercial household services will increase.
8. Female work-life patterns will become recognized through organized labour; child rearing years will be equivalent to work experience.
9. As more married women are involved in the labour force, suburban living will become less attractive.
10. There will be wages for housewives.
11. Housemaking and family-oriented careers will re-emerge as honourable female aspirations.
12. Housework will be considered part of the GNP.
13. Computerization will create new occupations increasing segregation.
14. There will be a need to legislate day care funding, and parental leave in order for more women to enter the labour force.
15. There will be more flextime available to help women pursue full-time careers.
16. Unions will pay more attention to women's issues: specifically child care and maternity leave.
17. There will be use of supply service contracts by government as a lever to make contractors take affirmative action in areas of sex discrimination.
18. There will be personnel required to translate affirmative action legislation into practice.
19. Women will need to build a stronger lobby if governments are to effect changes to benefit women's pension plans, maternity and paternity benefits.
20. There is a need to extend daycare from infancy to the end of elementary school.
21. Affirmative action will be undermined by questions related to its constitutionality and philosophical bases.
22. New legislation concerning women in the work place will be tested and reworked in the next decade.
23. There will be a reduction in efforts to increase the numbers of women in management and administrative positions.
24. Women's networks will become better organized and provide more support for women.
25. There will be a need for more on-site daycare facilities.
26. The proportion of women in middle management positions will increase without a corresponding increase in upper level management.

27. There will be a trend towards the right and fundamental religions will exert greater pressure on women to stay out of or on the periphery of the labour force.
28. Economic difficulties of depression may curb the present trend towards increased divorce and separation.
29. The equity gains made by women in the labour force will be reduced during times of economic entrenchment and the paternalistic society.
30. Governments will regulate policies on: two pay check families, more daycare centres, one-parent families, maternity-paternity leave.
31. There will be a need to increase support services for working women.
32. Public agencies will adopt a humanistic approach when dealing with the needs of female workers.
33. By assuming two jobs, (outside and inside the home) women's health and life expectancy will be adversely affected.
34. As the economic crisis deepens, more women will attempt to enter the workforce: as this happens, benefits such as maternity leaves and other social services will be withdrawn, partly because of cost, and partly to try to keep women out of the labour force.
35. There will be no major improvements for working women anywhere in the Western world.
36. Women will enter and remain attached to the labour force until their participation rate equals or exceeds that of men.
37. Because of women's needs, women's support groups will survive despite the economic situations, i.e. lesbians, rape victims, abused wives.
38. The women's movement will be undermined in Canada and North America, and will probably go underground by the late 1980's.
39. There is a need to solicit support for the women's right's movement especially in large companies.
40. There will be continued subtle forms of discrimination (sexual and other) towards women despite legislation.
41. There will be more women competing for and obtaining jobs in obviously male-dominated fields.
42. Women seeking work will increase the tension between men and women in Canada, by increasing the demand on men that they assist with housework and child rearing.
43. There will be women's studies courses included in the public school curriculum.

44. There will be more women engaging in collective bargaining as a means to achieve their demands.
45. Sex roles will become androgynous.
46. There will be more concern about violence toward women.
47. Greater attention will be paid to women's health issues at the workplace, including physical and emotional stress and indoor pollutants.
48. Rising trends of participation rates for women (25-60) in the work force will continue in part due to changes in fertility and age structure.
49. Studies or programs of education will collect data regarding specific discriminatory conditions.
50. The Canadian Human Rights Commission will play a leading role in implementing affirmative action programs.
51. Increased numbers of women in the labour force will lead to a greater politicization of women in general, resulting in challenges being made to the present hierarchical and centralized bureaucratization of the work world.
52. There will be more militancy among women in predominantly female-dominated careers.
53. Office work will become important and involve more men.
54. Volunteer work in paid work environments will continue for women.
55. Attitudes of school personnel towards working mothers will be reconsidered.
56. There will be opportunities for financial and other supports for women undertaking study and career re-training equal to those available for men.
57. Women will continue to earn less than men as a group and hold less power in the workplace.
58. Women will enter the professions and technically-oriented jobs in larger numbers.
59. There will be an instrument devised capable of measuring work of "equal value."
60. There is a need for training programs geared to newly immigrant women.
61. There will be a greater number of women pursuing part-time and full-time post-secondary studies.
62. There will be a need to modify the attitudes and values of immigrant groups towards women.



63. There is a need for historical and comparative studies of labour conditions for women.
64. More women will be entrepreneurs and small business owner-managers.
65. Pension plans and insurance benefits for women will be matched to employment in specific occupations.
66. There will be a trend towards decreased prestige/salary for professions which are accessible to women.
67. Women will strenuously reject the label of "secondary" work force in order to have an effect on policy in the workplace.
68. On-the-job training for women will be accessible by in-house training programs.
69. Changes in trade union attitudes will improve the position of women vis-à-vis their male colleagues.
70. Low productivity or GNP in the coming years will be related to such "female" characteristics as low degree of commitment, low levels of training and education and limited ambition and initiative.
71. Equal pay for equal work clauses will be incorporated in labour contracts on an increased basis.
72. The traditional pattern of low income families sending male children to university in preference to female children will continue.
73. There will be a need for competent, aggressive challenge within the law as the necessary instrument of social change.
74. There will be identifiable characteristics of those organizations which facilitate the effectiveness of women managers.
75. There will be no significant advance in post-secondary institutions towards increased enrolment of women in professional programs, except in those cases where programs or careers have been traditionally female.
76. Soft feminism will continue to produce incremental but significant advances for the status of women in the Canadian labour force.
77. Low paying jobs will be held equally by both sexes as a result of equal pay for equal work legislation.
78. Innovations in the clerical field will vastly reduce the number of personnel required for office work.







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